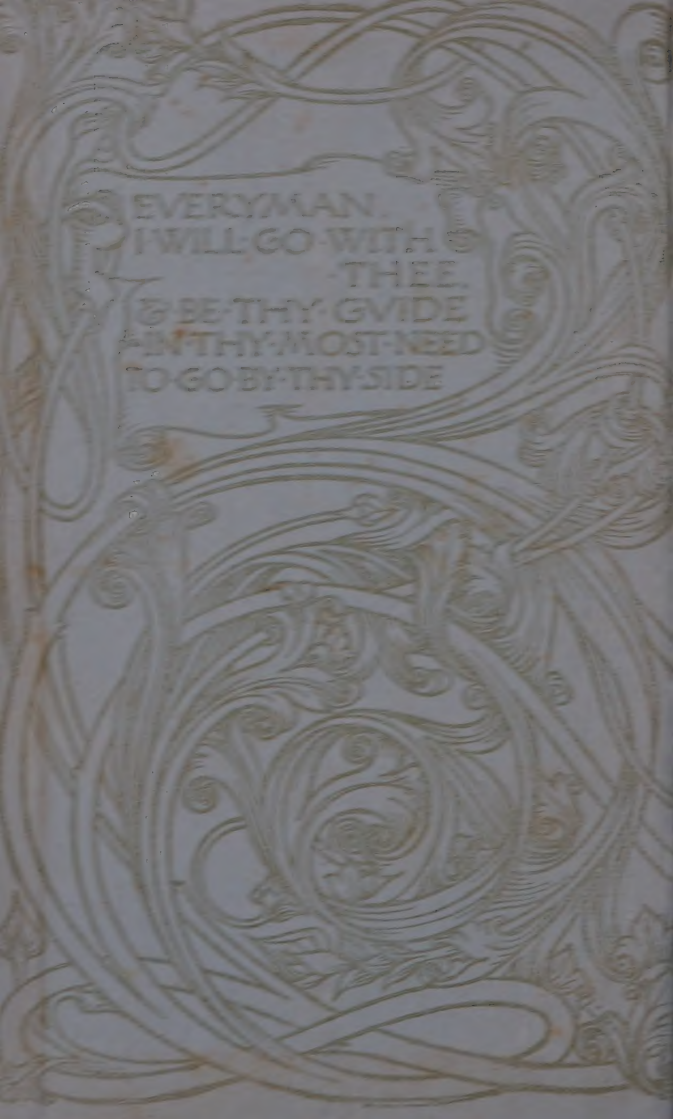
EVERYMAN
I WILL GO WITH
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& BE THY GVIDE
IN THY MOST NEED
TO GO BY THY SIDE

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HISTORY

CHRONICLES OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY JOHN MASEFIELD

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"CONSIDER HISTORY WITH THE BEGINNINGS OF IT STRETCHING DIMLY INTO THE REMOTE TIME; EMERGING DARKLY OVT OF THE MYSTERIOVS ETERNITY: THE TRVE EPIC POEM AND VNIVERSAL DIVINE SCRIPTVRE. . ."

CARLYLE

CHRONICLES of the PILGRIM FATHERS

LONDON & TORONTO
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INTRODUCTION

THE Brownist emigration, known to Americans as the "Sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers," was a little part of a great movement towards independence of judgment in spiritual affairs. The great movement began in the latter half of the sixteenth century in many parts of England. The little part of it which concerns us began in the early years of the seventeenth century in the country about the borders of the three counties of Nottingham, Lincoln and York. The Separatists were members of the lower and middle classes, who accepted the ruling of the Church of England in articles of faith, but refused her judgment in points of discipline. They held (in opposition to the Church) that the priesthood is not a distinct order, but an office temporarily conferred by the vote of the congregation.

Their attitude and action have been thus described by one of their number: "*They entered into covenant to walk with God and one with another, in the enjoyment of the Ordinances of God, according to the Primitive Patern in the Word of God. But finding by experience they could not peaceably enjoy their own liberty in their Native Country, without offence to others that were differently minded, they took up thoughts of removing.*"

One party of them, under Pastor John Smyth, "removed" from Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, to Amsterdam, in the year 1606. Another party organized in that year in the district of Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, about ten miles west from Gainsborough, began to make itself obnoxious to the country authorities. This second party contained two prominent men, William Brewster, the chief layman, and John Robinson, one of the two ministers.

The members of the party were accustomed to meet together "to worship God in their own manner." Church discipline, which forbade their meetings, imposed a persecu-

tion upon them. Religious persecution that endeavours to drive a flock along a path is successful, as a rule, only with the sheep. It makes the goats unruly. The persecution failed to bend the brethren, but it gave them enough annoyance to make them wish to leave the country. The leaders among them planned an exodus to Holland. In the autumn of 1607 a large party tried to escape to Holland from the port of Boston, in Lincolnshire. At that time it was not lawful for a person to leave the country without license. A large party could not hope to get away without the connivance of a ship's captain. The ship's captain to whom this escaping party appealed, accepted the bribe, then, fearing the consequences of his action, or hoping to obtain a reward, betrayed his passengers to the authorities. The members of the party were sentenced to a month in gaol; their goods were confiscated. Later in the year, another party was stopped while trying to escape from Great Grimsby. Many women and children were taken and imprisoned.

The prisoners in country gaols were then supported out of the rates. The keeping of large numbers of people in prison, in idleness, proved to be a great burden upon the rates of the towns where they were gaoled. The authorities who felt the burden soon became anxious to get rid of their prisoners. They released them and connived at their leaving the country. By August 1608, the whole party was safely in Amsterdam.

During the next few months, after some contention with the party from Gainsborough, a hundred of the Scrooby party obtained leave to go to Leyden, where they settled down to the manufacture of woollen goods. They were joined from time to time by other Separatists from England. In a few years their communion numbered some three hundred souls, among whom were Edward Winslow, John Carver, and Miles Standish.

In the year 1617, these exiles began to realize that Holland, though a seasonable refuge, could not be their abiding place. The children were growing up. The parents did not wish to send them to Dutch schools, because the Dutch children were of bad behaviour. The parents feared that the children, if sent to school in Holland, would receive evil

communications and lose something of their nationality. No one is so proud of his nationality as the exile. The fear that the colony might become a part of the Dutch population caused the leaders to think of travelling elsewhere. Guiana, the first place suggested, was rejected as unsuitable, because it was supposed to contain gold. Gold, or the prospect of finding gold, would be a temptation, if not a curse, to weak members of the community. There was also the prospect of danger from the Spaniards. Virginia, the next place suggested, was considered unsafe. The English were there. It was doubtful whether the English would allow in their midst a large community the members of which held unauthorized religious opinions. No other place offered such advantages as Virginia. The settlers there were Englishmen and Protestants. It was decided that members of the community should go to London to ask leave of the Virginia Company. In September 1617, two of the Separatists (John Carver and Robert Cushman) laid before the Virginia Company in London a declaration in seven articles. This declaration was designed to show that the Separatists would not be rebellious nor dangerous colonists. It stated that they assented to the doctrines of the Church of England and acknowledged the King's authority. The Virginia Company, accepting the declaration, was inclined to welcome the party as colonists; but a fear, suggested by the bishops, that they intended for Virginia, "to make a free popular state there," caused delay. The patent was not granted till the 9th/19th of June, 1619.

When the patent had been obtained more delay was caused by the difficulty of obtaining money for the equipment of the expedition. The London merchants saw little prospect of rich returns. They were slow to invest in an undertaking so hazardous. It was one thing to subscribe money "for the glory of Christ and the advancement of the beaver trade," another to equip a large party of religious enthusiasts for an experimental settling in a savage country. John Robinson, wearying of the delays, tried to persuade the Dutch to encourage the party to settle in the New Netherlands. His request led to nothing. Early in 1620, Thomas Weston, a London merchant, suggested that the settlement

should be made in Northern Virginia. About seventy other merchants offered to subscribe. The business began to go forward. A Common Stock was formed. Ten pound shares in this Stock could be taken up either by money or by goods. John Carver went to Southampton to engage a ship. Robert Cushman, acting for the brethren, drew up an agreement with the merchant adventurers, or, as we should call them, the speculators. He agreed that all the labour of the colonists should be for the common benefit, and that, after seven years, the results of the labours (houses, tilled land and goods) should be divided equally between the planters and the adventurers.

Although some seventy merchants subscribed money, the Common Stock was not big enough to send all the brethren to America. The majority had to stay in Holland. Those who chose, or were chosen, to go, left Leyden for Delft Haven, where they went aboard the ship *Speedwell*, of 60 tons, which had been bought and equipped in Holland. On or about the 10th 20th of July, 1620, the *Speedwell* sailed for Southampton.

At Southampton, the emigrants found waiting for them the ship *Mayflower*, of 180 tons. She was a London ship, chartered for the occasion. In her were other emigrants, some of them labourers, some of them Separatists eager to leave England. With them was the chief adventurer, Mr. Thomas Weston, who had come to ask the leaders of the party to sign the contract approved by Cushman. As the leaders did not like the terms of the contract they refused to sign it. There was an angry dispute. In the end Mr. Weston went back to London, with the contract not signed.

It had been agreed that he was to advance them another sum of money before the ships set sail. As the contract was not signed, the pilgrims had to manage without this money. Without it, they found it difficult to pay the charges of the ships and crews. They were forced to sell sixty pounds' worth of provisions to obtain money for the discharge of these claims. In those days, and, indeed, until within the memory of men now living, passengers across the Atlantic lived upon supplies of food laid in and prepared by themselves. The Western passage was seldom made in

less than two months. The pilgrims could not hope for any fresh supply of food before the next year's harvest in the New World. A considerable lessening of their store of provisions might well lead to the ruin of the settlement.

About the 5th (9th) of August the two ships put to sea in company, carrying in all about 120 emigrants. After eight days the captain of the *Speedwell* complained that his ship had sprung a leak. The expedition put back into Dartmouth to refit. On setting sail again the ships beat a hundred leagues to the west of the Land's End, when they were forced by stress of weather to put back into Plymouth. The captain of the *Speedwell* declared that his ship was no more battered in keep the sea. Though the master was lying in order to escape from the fulfilment of his charter his word was taken. The *Speedwell* was abandoned, the pilgrims in her were bidden to come aboard the *Mayflower* to take the places of some who could endure to go more. About twenty of the pilgrims left the expedition at Plymouth. They were discouraged by the hardship and weakness, two dozen which never had to reach the ends that though many are called to the life of pioneers, very few are chosen. Among those who left the expedition at Plymouth was Robert Cushman.

On Wednesday, the 6th (16th) September, the expedition left Plymouth for a third attempt. In the existing records little is said about the voyage; but it must have been a strange and terrible adventure to most of the party. The ship was very small, and crowded with people. Counting the crew, she must have had nearly a hundred and fifty people in a space too narrow for the comfort of half that number. The passengers were stowed in the between decks, a sort of low, narrow room, under the after deck. In fine weather by the openings of hatchways and gun-ports, and in bad weather when these were closed by storms. They lived, ate, slept and were seasick in that narrow space. A woman bore a child, a man died there. They were packed so tightly among all their belongings and stores that they could have had no privacy. The ventilation was bad, even in fine weather. In bad weather, when the hatches were battened down, there was none. In

had weather the pilgrims lived in a fog, through which they could see the water on the deck washing from side to side, as the ship rolled, carrying their pans and clothes with it. They could only lie, and groan, and pray, in stink and misery, while the water from ill-caulked seams dripped on them from above. In one of the storms during the passage, the *Mayflower* broke her mainbeam. Luckily one of her passengers had a jackscrew, by means of which the damage was made good. But the accident added the very present fear of death to the other miseries of the passage.

The *Mayflower* made the land on the 9th 10th November, after a passage in which the chief events were the storm, birth and death above mentioned. On coming towards the shore the landfall was seen to be the strange curving crook of Cape Cod, in Massachusetts. The pilgrims' patent was for a settlement in Virginia, far to windward in the south. There was no settlement of white people at Cape Cod. As they had made the land so far to the north the pilgrims thought that their best plan would be to beat down to the Hudson River and look for a place near the Dutch settlement in what is now New York. The crew of the ship refused to do this. Winter was coming on. They were not disposed to beat down a dangerous coast, to a doubtful welcome, in the teeth of the November gales. They told the pilgrims that they must go ashore where they could. Men were sent ashore to examine the land. On the 11th November, the pilgrims met together "to covenant and combine themselves together into a civil body politic." The whole party numbered 102, of which 73 were male and 29 female. More than half of the number had come from Leyden. The covenant was signed by forty-one men, seven of whom were labourers. John Carver was selected the first governor of the community.

During the next few weeks, parties of the pilgrims searched for a good site for the settlement. On the 22nd of December the site was found in the grounds adjoining what is now Plymouth Harbour. The *Mayflower* was brought into the harbour, and on Monday, 25th December, the first house was begun. By the middle of January most of the pilgrims were ashore.

It is said that their first winter in the New World was mild. It was certainly very terrible to them. Want of fresh food, the darkness of the change of climate, the exposure and labour in the building of the town, and the intense cold of even a mild New England winter, were more than they could endure. Nearly half of them were dead within six months. Among the dead was the governor, John Carver, who died shortly after his re-election to office. His place was taken by William Bradford. In the early spring of 1621, an Indian called Samoset came to the pilgrims. He told them that the place where they had settled was called Patuxet, and that the Indians had deserted those parts owing to an outbreak of the plague. The Mayflower, sailing back to England in April, carried with her a tale of great mortality and the prospect of possible pestilence when the hot weather came.

The summer proved fine, and the harvest good. In November, by which time less than fifty of the original settlers remained alive, Robert Cushman arrived among them, in the ship *Fortune*, with thirty-five recruits (ten of them women). He also brought a patent (granted by the President and Council of New England), allowing to each settler a hundred acres of land and the power to make laws and govern. In December 1621, in a letter sent home in the ship *Fortune*, the settlement was first called New Plymouth.

The after history of the settlement may be indicated briefly. It is a story of the slow but noble triumph of all that is finest in the English temper. By honest industry and by that justice which, until the last two generations, usually marked and ennobled our dealings with native tribes, the settlement prospered. The pilgrims honestly paid the Indians for the lands acquired from them. In 1623, they were able to stop an Indian war, which had been provoked by some intemperate insolence, sent out by Thomas Weston to a place twenty miles to the north of New Plymouth.

In 1624, the London merchants sent out one John Lyford, to be chaplain to the community. He was sent home for trying to set up the ritual of the Church of England.

Another clergyman, who was sent to them four years later, went mad.

In 1626, many of the London adventurers were bought out. They surrendered their shares for the sum of eighteen hundred pounds, payable in nine yearly instalments. Eight leading planters and four principal merchants in London undertook to make the first six payments in return for the monopoly of the foreign trade. In the reorganization of the company the most prosperous men of the community were made stockholders. They were allotted one share for each member of their families. Each head of a family was granted an extra acre of land and a title to his house. The cattle, being still few in number, were allotted among groups of families. Few laws were made, though the men sometimes met in General Court to discuss public business.

In 1630, when the second charter arrived, the colony numbered three hundred souls. After that time, its growth was slow, steady, and not very eventful, till the disastrous Indian war of 1676. In 1692 it was merged in the bigger "civil body politic" of Boston.

Emigration nowadays is seldom an act of religious protest, still more seldom an endeavour to found a more perfect human state. Man emigrates now to obtain greater personal opportunity, or in tacit confession of incompetence. When he emigrates in protest, it is in aesthetic protest. The migration is to some place of natural beauty, in which the creation of works of art may proceed under conditions pleasing to their creators.

A generation fond of pleasure, disinclined towards serious thought, and shrinking from hardship, even if it may be swiftly reached, will find it difficult to imagine the temper, courage and manliness of the emigrants who made the first Christian settlement of New England. For a man to give up all things and fare forth into savagery, in order to escape from the responsibilities of life, in order, that is, to serve the devil, "whose feet are bound by civilization," is common. Giving up all things in order to serve God is a sternness for which prosperity has unfitted us.

Some regard the settling of New Plymouth as the sowing of the seed from which the crop of Modern America has

grown. The vulgarity of others has changed the wood of the *Mayflower* into a forest of family trees. For all the *Mayflower's* sailing there is, perhaps, little existing in modern England or America "according to the Primitive Pattern in the Word of God." It would be healthful could either country see herself through the eyes of those pioneers, or see the pioneers as they were. The pilgrims leave no impression of personality on the mind. They were not "remarkable." Not one of them had compelling personal genius, or marked talent for the work in hand. They were plain men of moderate abilities, who, giving up all things, went to live in the wilds, at unknown cost to themselves, in order to preserve to their children a life in the soul.

JOHN MASEFIELD.

June 24, 1910.

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* Reprinted text and notes from the editions of the Boston Congregational Board of Publication 1855, and Alexander Young 1844.

NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL

TO THE

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL, THOMAS PRINCE, ESQ.

GOVERNOR OF THE JURISDICTION OF NEW PLIMOUTH

WITH

THE WORSHIPFUL, THE MAGISTRATES

HIS ASSISTANTS IN THE SAID GOVERNMENT

N. M. wisheth Peace and Prosperity in this life, and Eternal Happiness in that which is to come.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

THE consideration of the weight of duty that lieth upon us, to commemorize to future generations the memorable passages of God's providence to us and our predecessors in the beginning of this plantation, hath wrought in me a restlessness of spirit, and earnest desire, that something might be achieved in that behalf, more (or at least otherwise) than as yet hath been done. Many discouragements I have met with, both from within and without myself; but reflecting upon the ends I have proposed to myself in setting out in this work, it hath afforded me some support, viz. the glory of God, and the good of present and future generations. Being also induced hereunto by the consideration that yourselves (especially some of you) are fully acquainted with many of the particulars, both concerning persons and things, inserted in the following narrative, and can, on your own knowledge, assert them for truth. Were it so, that any other had travelled in this kind, in such a way as might have conduced to a brief and satisfactory intelligence in particulars relating to the premises, I would have

spared this labour, and have satisfied myself in perusal of their works, rather than to have set pen to paper about the same; but having never seen nor heard of any, especially respecting this our plantation of New Plimouth, which God hath honoured to be the first in this land, I have made bold to present your Worships with, and to publish to the world, something of the very first beginnings of the great actions of God in New England, begun at New Plimouth: wherein, the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honoured uncle, Mr. William Bradford, and such manuscripts as he left in his study, from the year 1620 unto 1646; whom had God continued in this world some longer time, and given him rest from his other more important affairs, we might probably have had these things from an abler pen, and better digested, than now you may expect. Certain diurnals of the honoured Mr. Edward Winslow have also afforded me good light and help: and what from them both, and otherwise I have obtained, that I judged suitable for the following discourse, I have with care and faithfulness related; and have therein more solicitously followed the truth of things (many of which I can also assert on my own knowledge) than I have studied quaintness in expressions.

I should gladly have spoken more particularly of the neighbouring united colonies, whose ends and aims in their transplanting of themselves and families, were the same with ours, viz. the glory of God, the propagation of the gospel, and enlargement of his Majesty's dominions; but for want of intelligence, and that I may not prevent a better pen, I shall only make mention of some of their worthies that we have been most acquainted with.

I shall not insist upon the clime nor soil of the country, its commodities, or discommodities; nor at large on the natives, or their customs and manners, all of which have been already declared by Capt. Smith, Mr. Higginson, Mr. Williams, Mr. Wood, and others. What it is, and what my aims at God's glory, and my

good affection to the place and people of whom I treat, may make it, I present your Worships with, humbly craving your favourable aspect, and good acceptance of my poor endeavours; and that myself and it may find protection and shelter under the wings of your pious patronage, to defend us against such critical and censorious eyes and tongues, as may either carp at my expressions, or misconstrue my intentions. The ample experience I have had of your undeserved favour and respect to me, in my many years service of the public, and my observation in that time, that you have desired something of this nature might be done, hath encouraged me hereunto. Your good acceptance whereof, shall ever oblige me to answerable returning of gratitude, and administer to me further cause of thankfulness, that God hath given me an habitation under your just and prudent administrations; and wish for a succession of such as may be skilful to lead our Israel in this their peregrination; and when God shall take you hence, to receive the crown of your labours and travels. So prayeth,

Your Worship's humble servant,

NATHANIEL MORTON.

TO THE

CHRISTIAN READER

GRACE AND PEACE BE MULTIPLIED; WITH PROFIT BY THIS FOLLOWING NARRATION

GENTLE READER,

I HAVE for some length of time looked upon it as a duty incumbent, especially on the immediate successors of those that have had so large experience of those many memorable and signal demonstrations of God's goodness, viz. the first beginners of this plantation in New England, to commit to writing his gracious dispensations on that behalf; having so many inducements thereunto, not only otherwise, but so plentifully in the sacred Scriptures, that so, what we have seen, and what our fathers have told us, we may not hide from our children, showing to the generations to come the praise of the Lord. Psal. lxxviii. 3, 4. That especially the seed of Abraham his servant, and the children of Jacob his chosen, may remember his marvellous works (Psal. cv. 5, 6) in the beginning and progress of the planting of New England, his wonders, and the judgments of his mouth; how that God brought a vine into this wilderness; that he cast out the heathen and planted it; that he made room for it, and caused it to take deep root, and it filled the land; so that it hath sent forth its boughs to the sea and its branches to the river. Psal. lxxx. 8, 9. And not only so, but also that he hath guided his people by his strength to his holy habitation, and planted them in the mountain of his inheritance (Exod. xv. 13), in respect of precious gospel enjoyments. So that we may not only look back to former experiences of God's goodness to our predecessors [1]

[1] Psal. lxvi. 6.

(though many years before), and so have our faith strengthened in the mercies of God for our times; that so the church being one numerical body, might not only even for the time he spake with us in our forefathers (Hos. xii. 4), by many gracious manifestations of his glorious attributes, wisdom, goodness, and truth, improved for their good, but also rejoice in present enjoyments of both outward and spiritual mercies, as fruits of their prayers, tears, travels, and labours; that as especially God may have the glory of all, unto whom it is most due; so also some rays of glory may reach the names of those blessed saints that were the main instruments of the beginning of this happy enterprise.

So then, gentle Reader, thou mayest take notice, that the main ends of publishing this small history, is, that God may have his due praise, his servants, the instruments, have their names embalmed, and the present and future ages may have the fruit and benefit of God's great work, in the relation of the first planting of New England. Which ends, if attained, will be great cause of rejoicing to the publisher thereof, if God give him life and opportunity to take notice thereof.

The method I have observed, is (as I could) in some measure answerable to the ends aforenamed, in inserting some acknowledgment of God's goodness, faithfulness, and truth upon special occasions, with allusion to the Scriptures; and also taking notice of some special instruments, and such main and special particulars as were perspicuously remarkable, in way of commendation in them, so far as my intelligence would reach; and especially in a faithful commemorizing, and declaration of God's wonderful works for, by, and to his people, in preparing a place for them by driving out the heathen before them; bringing them through a sea of troubles; preserving and protecting them from, and in those dangers that attended them in their low estate, when they were strangers in the land; and making this howling wilderness a chamber of rest, safety, and pleasantness, whilst the storms of his displeasure have not only tossed, but endangered the overwhelming of

great states and kingdoms, and hath now made it to us a fruitful land, sowed it with the seed of man and beast; but especially in giving us so long a peace, together with the gospel of peace, and so great a freedom in our civil and religious enjoyments; and also in giving us hopes that we may be instruments in his hands, not only of enlarging of our prince's dominions, but to enlarge the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, in the conversion of the poor blind natives.

And now, courteous Reader, that I may not hold thee too long in the porch, I only crave of thee to read this following discourse with a single eye, and with the same ends as I had in penning it. Let not the smallness of our beginnings, nor weakness of instruments, make the thing seem little, or the work despicable; but on the contrary, let the greater praise be rendered unto God, who hath effected great things by small means. Let not the harshness of my style, prejudice thy taste or appetite to the dish I present thee with. Accept it as freely as I give it. Carp not at what thou dost not approve, but use it as a remembrance of the Lord's goodness, to engage to true thankfulness and obedience; so may it be a help to thee in thy journey through the wilderness of this world, to that eternal rest which is only to be found in the heavenly Canaan, which is the earnest desire of

Thy Christian friend,

NATHANIEL MORTON.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS

NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL

OR

A BRIEF RELATION OF THE MOST REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, MANIFESTED TO THE PLANTERS OF NEW ENGLAND, IN AMERICA. AND. FIRST, OF THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PLANTATION IN N. E.

CALLED

NEW PLIMOUTH

It is the usual manner of the dispensation of the majesty of heaven, to work wonderfully by weak means for the effectuating of great things, to the intent that he may have the more glory to himself. Many instances hereof might be produced, both out of the sacred Scriptures, and common experience; and amongst many others of this kind, the late happy and memorable enterprise of the planting of that part of America called New England, deserveth to be commemorized to future posterity.

In the year 1602, divers godly Christians of our English nation, in the north of England, being studious of reformation, and therefore not only witnessing against human inventions, and additions in the worship of God, but minding most the positive and practical part of divine institutions, they entered into covenant to walk with God, and one with another, in the enjoyment of the ordinances of God, according to the primitive pattern in the word of God.[1] But finding by

[1] Gov. Bradford's *History* takes no notice of the year of this Federal Incorporation, which Secretary Morton here places in 1602.

experience they could not peaceably enjoy their own liberty in their native country, without offence to others that were differently minded, they took up thoughts of removing themselves and their families into the Netherlands, which accordingly they endeavoured to accomplish, but met with great hindrance; yet after some time, the good hand of God removing obstructions, they obtained their desires; arriving in Holland, they settled themselves in the city of Leyden, in the year 1610, and there they continued divers years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet society and spiritual comfort in the ways of God, living peaceably amongst themselves, and being courteously entertained and lovingly respected by the Dutch, amongst whom they were strangers, having for their pastor Mr. John Robinson, a man of a learned, polished, and modest spirit, pious and studying of the truth, largely accomplished with suitable gifts and qualifications to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ; having also a fellow helper with him in the eldership, Mr. William Brewster, a man of approved piety, gravity, and integrity, very eminently furnished with gifts suitable to such an office.

But notwithstanding their amiable and comfortable carrying on (as hath been said) although the church of Christ on earth in Holy Writ is sometimes called heaven; yet there is always, in their most perfect state here in this lower world, very much wanting as to absolute and perfect happiness, which is only reserved for the time and place of the full enjoyment of celestial glory; for, although this church was at peace, and in

Prince supposes Morton had the account either from some other writings of Gov. Bradford, the journals of Gov. Winslow, or from oral conference with them, or other of the first planters, with some of whom he was contemporary.

And these are the Christian people who were the founders of the Plymouth church and colony; who seem to be some of the first in England, that were brave enough to improve the liberty wherewith the divine Author of our religion has made us free, and observe his institutions as their only rule in church order, discipline, and worship; for which they dearly suffered, and left their native country, and who laid the first foundations for the New England settlements.

rest at this time, yet they took up thoughts of removing themselves into America, with common consent. The proposition of removing thither being set on foot, and prosecuted by the elders upon just and weighty grounds; for although they did quietly and sweetly enjoy their church liberties under the States, yet they foresaw that Holland would be no place for their church and posterity to continue in comfortably, at least in that measure that they hoped to find abroad; and that for these reasons following, which I shall recite as received from themselves.

First. Because themselves were of a different language from the Dutch where they lived, and were settled in their way, insomuch that in ten years time, whilst their church sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of observation of the Lord's day as a sabbath, or any other thing amiss among them.

Secondly. Because their countrymen, who came over to join with them, by reason of the hardness of the country, soon spent their estates, and were then forced either to return back to England, or to live very meanly.

Thirdly. That many of their children, through the extreme necessity that was upon them, although of the best dispositions and graciously inclined, and willing to bear part of their parents' burdens, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labours, that although their spirits were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their early youth, and the vigour of nature consumed in the very bud. And that which was very lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many by these occasions and the great licentiousness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins on their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and other some worse courses, tend-

ing to dissoluteness and the destruction of their souls, to the great grief of their parents, and the dishonour of God; and that the place being of great licentiousness and liberty to children, they could not educate them, nor could they give them due correction without reproof or reproach from their neighbours.

Fourthly. That their posterity would in few generations become Dutch, and so lose their interest in the English nation; they being desirous rather to enlarge his Majesty's dominions, and to live under their natural prince.

Fifthly and lastly. And which was not the least, a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto for the propagating and advancement of the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world, yea, although they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for the performance of so great a work.[1]

These and such like were the true reasons of their removal, and not as some of their adversaries did, upon the rumour thereof, cast out slanders against them; as if the state were weary of them, and had rather driven them out (as heathen histories have feigned of Moses and the Israelites when they went out of Egypt) than that it was their own free choice and motion.

I will therefore mention a particular or two, to evince the contrary.

And first. Although some of them were low in their estates, yet the Dutch observing that they were diligent, faithful, and careful of their engagements, had great respect to them, and strove for their custom.

Again, secondly, the magistrates of the city of Leyden where they lived, about the time of their coming away, in the public place of justice, gave this commendable testimony of them, in reproof of the Wal-

[1] This hath been graciously answered since, by moving the hearts of many of his servants to be very instrumental in this work with some good success, and hopes of further blessing in that respect.—M.

loons, who were of the French church in the city: These English (said they) have lived now amongst us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against them, or any of them, but your strifes and quarrels are continual.

The reasons of their removal above named being debated first in private, and thought weighty, were afterwards propounded in public; and after solemn days of humiliation observed both in public and private,[1] it was agreed, that part of the church should go before their brethren into America, to prepare for the rest; and if in case the major part of the church did choose to go over with the first, then the pastor to go along with them; but if the major part stayed, that he was then to stay with them.

[1] They first keep a day of solemn prayer, Mr. Robinson preaching a very suitable sermon, from 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4; strengthening them against their fears, and encouraging them in their resolutions.—*New Eng. Chron.*, p. 155.

The fasts and feasts of the Episcopal Church had been cast off by Mr. Robinson from the first, and he and his church observed such days only when the dispensations of Divine Providence seemed to indicate their propriety. The church at Leyden observed no holidays, except fasts and thanksgivings, and the Sabbath. They held several seasons of fasting and prayer, preparatory to their great enterprise, within a few months of leaving Holland. And when they arrived at Plymouth, they observed such seasons as suited to benefit themselves and their posterity.

The magistrates of Plymouth officially ordered such days to be kept, as early as 1623; and in 1637 an ordinance was passed, "that it be in the power of the governor and assistants to *command* solemn days of humiliation, and also for thanksgiving, as occasion shall be offered." The deputies sometimes acted with the governor in designating such days. In 1682, servile work and sports were prohibited on these days, under the same penalty as breach of Sabbath. This was continued as long as Plymouth was a separate colony. On the settlement of the ministry at Salem, Gov. Endicott ordered a fast, as was done on a like occasion at Charlestown. The magistrates of Boston ordered a fast in 1634, and continued the exercise of that authority till 1692, after which these celebrations were ordered many times, with the concurrence of the representatives.—*Col. Christian Antiquities.*

Many occasional fasts have been appointed and kept with great solemnity by the church at Plymouth, as appears from their records.

They having employed sundry agents to treat with several merchants in England, who adventured some considerable sums in a way of valuation to such as went personally on in the voyage; the articles of agreement about the premises being fully concluded with the said merchants, and sundry difficulties and obstructions removed, having also obtained letters patent for the northern parts of Virginia, of King James of famous memory,[1] all things were got ready and provided, a small ship was bought and fitted out in Holland, of about sixty tons, called the *Speedwell*, as to serve to transport some of them over, so also to stay in the country, and attend upon fishing, and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony, when they came thither. Another ship was hired at London, of burden about nine score, called the *Mayflower*, and all other things got in readiness; so being prepared to depart, they had a solemn day of humiliation, the pastor teaching a part of the day very profitably, and suitably to the present occasion.[2] The rest of the time was spent in pouring out of prayers unto the Lord, with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city, unto a town called Delft Haven,[3] where the ship

1 Robert Cushman and John Carver were their first agents, in 1617, to the Virginia Company, and to obtain security from the king for religious freedom in their proposed settlement. In February, 1619, Mr. Cushman and Mr. Bradford were despatched on the same business. After long attendance they obtained a patent, and returned to Leyden in the autumn of that year; but this patent was never used. King James, by patent makes a division of the country into two colonies; the southern between 34 and 41 degrees north, he grants to the London Company; the northern between 38 and 45 degrees north, he grants to the Plymouth Company. The Leyden agents negotiated with the London Company.—*New Eng. Chron.*, p. 112.

2 The text of Scripture was Ezra viii. 21.—M.

3 This was in June or July, 1620. From Leyden to Delft Haven was twenty-four miles, the Delft being eight miles from the port. It seems their brethren went with them to that place, and the final separation there was very painful. "A flood of tears was poured

lay ready to receive them, so they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place above eleven years; but they knew that they were pilgrims and strangers here below, and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, where God hath prepared for them a city, Heb. xi. 16, and therein quieted their spirits.

When they came to the place, they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them, and sundry came from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them. One night was spent with little sleep with the most, but with friendly entertainment, and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day the wind being fair, they went on board, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to hear what sighs and sobs, and prayers did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each other's heart, that sundry of the Dutch strangers, that stood on the Key as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was, to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide (which stays for no man) calling them away, that were thus loth to depart, their Reverend Pastor falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers unto the Lord and his blessing; and then with mutual embraces, and many tears, they took their leave one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them. Thus hoisting sail with a prosperous gale of wind, they came in a short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, being ready with all the rest of their company, meeting each other with a joyful welcome and mutual congratulation.

At their parting, their pastor, Mr. John Robinson, wrote a letter to the whole company, which I thought

out, and they were not able to speak to one another for the abundance of sorrow to part."—*Chr. Pil.* 384.

meet here to insert, being so fruitful in itself, and suitable to their occasions.

Loving Christian Friends,

I do heartily, and in the Lord salute you, as being those with whom I am present in my best affections, and most earnest longing after you, though I be constrained for awhile to be bodily absent from you: I say constrained; God knowing how willingly, and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the mean time as a man divided in myself, with great pain, and as (natural bonds set aside) having my better part with you. And although I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly; yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation to them that run well already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty. And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses; so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner, upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to both a narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight, lest he calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us, or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us for the same, to be swallowed up in one danger or other. Whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up to a man's conscience by his spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or death. Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men, what in us lieth, especially with our associates; and for that watchfulness must be had, that we neither

at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence being given by others. Wo be to the world for offences, for although it be necessary, considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption, that offences come, yet wo unto the man, or woman either, by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Matth. xviii. 7, and if offences in the unseasonable use of things, in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. ix. 15, how much more in things simply evil, in which neither the honour of God, nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded! Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves by the grace of God from giving of offence, except withal we be armed against the taking of them when they are given by others; for how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person, who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences! As the Scripture speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace, only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charity to cover offences, or wisdom duly to weigh human frailties; or lastly, are gross though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Matth. vii. 1–3, as indeed, in my own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, who have nourished this touchy humour. But besides these, there are divers motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way; as first, there are many of you strangers as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them, which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And

if taking offence causelessly or easily at men's doings, be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself! Which yet we certainly do, so oft as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit us. Store up therefore patience against the evil day; without which, we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works. A further thing there is carefully to be provided for, namely, that with your common employments, you join common affections truly bent upon the general good, avoiding, as a deadly plague of your both common and special comforts, all retiredness of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected every manner of way. Let every man repress in himself, and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence, before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit; so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful that the house of God (which you are, and are to be) be not shaken with unnecessary novelties, or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with persons of special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government; let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love, and will promote the common good; but also in yielding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations, not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; not being like the foolish multitude, who more honour the gay coat, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or the glorious ordinance of God. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority, which the magistrate beareth, is honourable, in how mean

persons soever; and this duty you may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to perform, because you are (at least for the present) to have them for your ordinary governors, which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words; but I will not so far wrong your godly minds, as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers amongst you so well able to admonish both themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things, therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend to your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily incessant prayers unto the Lord, that he who hath made the heavens and the earth and sea, and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways as inwardly by his spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that you, and we also for and with you may have after matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest.

An unfeigned well willer to your happy success in this hopeful voyage.

JOHN ROBINSON.

Upon the receipt of this letter, the company were called together; and it was publicly read amongst them, which had good acceptance with all, and after fruit with many.

OF THE TROUBLES THAT BEFEL THE FIRST PLANTERS UPON THE COAST OF ENGLAND, AND IN THEIR VOYAGE IN COMING OVER INTO NEW ENGLAND, AND THEIR ARRIVAL AT CAPE COD, ALIAS CAPE JAMES.

ALL things being got ready, and every business despatched, they ordered and distributed their company for either ship (as they conceived for the best) and chose

a governor, and two or three assistants for each ship, to order the people by the way, and to see to the disposing of the provision, and such like affairs; all which was not only with the liking of the masters of the ships, but according to their desires; which being done, they set sail from Southampton the fifth of August, 1620. But alas, the best enterprises meet oftentimes with many discouragements; for they had not sailed far, before Mr. Reynolds, the master of the lesser ship, complained that he found his ship so leaky, he durst not put further to sea; on which they were forced to put in at Dartmouth, Mr. Jones, the master of the biggest ship, likewise putting in there with him, and the said lesser ship was searched and mended, and judged sufficient for the voyage, by the workmen that mended her; on which both the said ships put to sea the second time, but they had not sailed above an hundred leagues, ere the said Reynolds again complained of his ship being so leaky, as that he feared he should founder in the sea, if he held on; and then both ships bore up again, and went in at Plimouth; but being there searched again, no great matter appeared, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship. But the true reason of the retarding and delaying of matters was not as yet discerned; the one of them respecting the ship (as afterwards was found), was, that she was overmasted, which, when she came to her trim, in that respect she did well; and made divers profitable and successful voyages. But secondly, and more especially by the deceit of the master and his company, who were hired to stay a whole year in the country; but now fancying dislike, and fearing want of victuals, they plotted this stratagem to free themselves, as afterwards was known, and by some of them confessed; for they apprehended that the greater ship being of force, and in whom most provisions were bestowed, that she would retain enough for herself, whatsoever became of them and the passengers. But so strong was self-love and deceit in this man, as he forgot all duty and former kindness, and dealt thus falsely with them. These

things thus falling out, it was resolved by the whole company to dismiss the lesser ship and part of the company with her, and that the other part of the company should proceed in the bigger ship; which when they had ordered matters thereunto, they made another sad parting, the one ship, namely, the lesser, going back for London, and the other, namely, the *Mayflower*, Mr. Jones being master, proceeding on the intended voyage.

These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind;[1] but after they had enjoyed fair winds for a season, they met with many contrary winds and fierce storms, with which their ship was shrewdly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky, and one of the main beams of the midships was bowed and cracked, which put them to some fear that she would not be able to perform the voyage; on which the principal of the seamen and passengers had serious consultation what to do, whether to return, or hold on. But the ship proving strong under water, by a screw the said beam was brought into his place again; which being done, and well secured by the carpenter, they resolved to hold on their voyage, and so after many boisterous storms in which they could bear no sail, but were forced to lie at hull many days together; after long beating at sea, they fell in with the land called Cape Cod,[2] the which being made, and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some little deliberation had amongst themselves with the master of the ship, they tacked about to stand to the southward, to find some place about Hudson's river (according to their first intentions) for their habitations: but they had not sailed that course above half a day, before they

[1] September 6.—Mourt's *Relation*. Bradford's *MS. History*.

[2] Cape Cod, so called at the first by Capt. Gosnold and his company, Anno, 1602, because they took much of that fish there; and afterwards called Cape James, by Capt. Smith. The point of the cape is called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; and by the French and Dutch, Mallacar, by reason of the perilous shoals.—M.

fell amongst perilous shoals and breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith, as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the cape aforesaid: the next day, by God's providence, they got into the cape harbour. Thus they arrived at Cape Cod, alias Cape James, in November, 1620, and being brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees, and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from many perils and miseries.[1]

Nevertheless, it is to be observed, that their putting into this place was partly by reason of a storm by which they were forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. Jones, the master of the ship; for their intention, as before noted, and his engagement, was to Hudson's river; but some of the Dutch having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said Jones, by delays, while they were in England, and now under pretence of the danger of the shoals, &c., to disappoint them in their going thither.[2] But God outshoots Satan oftentimes in his own bow; for had they gone to Hudson's river, as before expressed, it had proved very dangerous to them; for although it is a place far more commodious, and the soil more fertile, yet then abounding with a multitude of pernicious savages, whereby they would have been in great peril of their lives, and so the work of transplanting the gospel into these parts much endangered to have been hindered and retarded; but God so disposed, that the place where they afterwards settled was much depopulated by a great mortality amongst the natives, which

[1] They made the land November 9, and anchored in Cape Cod harbour on the 11th; on the same day they landed 15 or 16 men well armed, to procure wood and reconnoitre the place. They found neither house nor person; but laded their boat with juniper (red cedar).—Mourt's *Relation*.

[2] Of this plot between the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence.—M.

fell out about two years before their arrival, whereby he made way for the carrying on of his good purpose in promulgating of his gospel as aforesaid.

But before we pass on, let the reader, with me, make a pause, and seriously consider this poor people's present condition, the more to be raised up to admiration of God's goodness towards them in their preservation; for being now passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation, they had now no friends to welcome them, no inns to entertain or refresh them, no houses, much less towns, to repair unto to seek for succour. The barbarians that Paul the apostle fell amongst in his shipwreck, at the isle Melita, showed him no small kindness, Acts xxviii., but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear), were readier to fill their sides full of arrows, than otherwise; and, for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of the country, know them to be sharp and violent, subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search unknown coasts. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? And what multitudes of them there were, they then knew not; neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to heaven), they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward object, for summer being ended, all things stand in appearance with a weather-beaten face, and the whole country full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue; if they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. The master of the ship and his company pressing with speed to look out a place for a settlement at some near distance, for the season was such that he would not stir from thence until a safe harbour was discovered by them with their boat; yea, it was some-

times threatened, that if they would not get a place in time, that they and their goods should be turned on shore, and that the ship would leave them; the master expressing himself, that provisions spent apace, and that he would keep sufficient for himself and his company for their return. It is true indeed, that the love and affections of their brethren they left behind them in Holland were cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them or themselves; what could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace? Ought not, and may not the children of these fathers rightly say, our fathers were Englishmen, which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity. Let them therefore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever; yea, let them who have been the redeemed of the Lord, show how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor, when they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in; both hungry and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them: let them therefore confess before the Lord his loving-kindness, and his wonderful works before the children of men, Psal. cvii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8.[1]

Of the first planters, their combination, by entering into a body politic together; with their proceedings in discovery of a place for their settlement and habitation.

Being thus fraudulently dealt with (as you have

[1] Many attempts had been made to settle this rough and northern country; first by the French, who would fain account it part of Canada, and then by the English, and both from mere secular views. But such a train of crosses accompany the designs of both these nations, that they seem to give it over as not worth the planting, till a pious people of England, not allowed to worship their Maker according to his institutions only, without the mixture of human ceremonies, are spirited to attempt the settlement, that here they might enjoy a worship purely scriptural and leave the same to their posterity.—*New Eng. Chron.*, p. 98.

heard), and brought so far to the northward, the season being sharp, and no hopes of their obtaining their intended port; and thereby their patent being made void and useless, as to another place: being at Cape Cod upon the eleventh day of November, 1620, it was thought meet for their more orderly carrying on of their affairs, and accordingly by mutual consent they entered into a solemn combination, as a body politic, to submit to such government and governors, laws and ordinances, as should by a general consent, from time to time, be made choice of, and assented unto. The contents whereof followeth.[1]

In the name of God, amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the faith, etc. Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Dom. 1620.[2]

[1] This was the first foundation of the government of New Plimouth.—M.

[2] "By this instrument they formed themselves into a proper democracy, and if they had gone no further, perhaps they would have done but little towards preserving order. But one great

John Carver,
William Bradford,
Edward Winslow,
William Brewster,
Isaac Allerton,
Miles Standish,
John Alden,
Samuel Fuller,
Christopher Martin,
William Mullins,
William White,
Richard Warren,
John Howland,
Stephen Hopkins,
Edward Tilly,
John Tilly,
Francis Cooke,
Thomas Rogers,
Thomas Tinker,
John Ridgdale,
Edward Fuller,
John Turner,
Francis Eaton,
James Chilton,
John Craxton,
John Billington,
Joses Fletcher,
John Goodman,
Digery Priest,
Thomas Williams,
Gilbert Winslow,
Edmund Margeson,
Peter Brown,
Richard Bitteridge,
George Soule,
Richard Clark,
Richard Gardiner,
John Allerton,
Thomas English,
Edward Doten,
Edward Leister.[1]

After this they chose Mr. John Carver, a man godly and well approved amongst them, to be their governor for that year.

reason of this covenant seems to have been of a mere moral nature, that they might remove all scruples of inflicting necessary punishments, even capital ones, seeing all had voluntarily subjected themselves to them. They seem cautiously to have preserved as much of their natural liberty as could be consistent with the maintenance of government and order. This was rational, and every thinking man, when he quitted the state of nature, would do the same. Lord Chief-Justice Holt said, in the case of Blankard *v.* Galdy, that in case of an uninhabited country, found out by English subjects, all laws in force in England, are in force there, and the court agreed with him. Until they should agree upon laws suited to their peculiar circumstances, our Plymoutheans resolved to make the laws of England their rule of government; and it seems they differed much in this respect from the Massachusetts colonists, and never established any distinct code or body of laws of their own, but in such cases where the common law and the statutes of England could not well reach and afford them help in emergent difficulties, they added some particular municipal laws of their own, following the advice of Pacuvius to his neighbours of Capua, 'not to cashier their old magistrates till they could agree upon better to place in their room.'"—2 Hutch., 409–412.

[1] The following corrected list is from Prince's *Annals*, p. 172. Morton has given the names in the following order: but their names connected with their titles and families, I take from the list at the end of Gov. Bradford's folio manuscript. Only this I observe that out of modesty he omits the title of Mr. to his own name, which he ascribes to several others.

Those with this mark (*) brought their wives with them; those with this (†), for the present, left them either in Holland or England. Some left behind them *part*, and others *all* their children. Those with this mark (ss) deceased before the end of March.

Necessity now calling them to look out a place for habitation, as well as the master's and mariners' im-

NAMES.	NO. IN FAMILY.
1. Mr. John Carver,*	8
2. William Bradford,*	2
3. Mr. Edward Winslow,*	5
4. Mr. William Brewster,*	6
5. Mr. Isaac Allerton,*	6
6. Capt. Miles Standish,*	2
7. John Alden,	1
8. Mr. Samuel Fuller,†	2[1]
9. Mr. Christopher Martin,* ss	4
10. Mr. William Mullins,* ss	5
11. Mr. William White,* ss	5[2]
12. Mr. Richard Warren,†	1
13. John Howland,[3]	
14. Mr. Stephen Hopkins,*	8[4]
15. Edward Tilley,* ss	4
16. John Tilley,* ss	3
17. Francis Cook,†	2
18. Thomas Rogers, ss	2
19. Thomas Tinker,* ss	3
20. John Ridgdale,* ss	2
21. Edward Fuller,* ss	3
22. John Turner,* ss	3
23. Francis Eaton,*	3
24. James Chilton,* ss	3
25. John Crackton, ss	2[5]
26. John Billington,*	4
27. Moses Fletcher, ss	1
28. John Goodman, ss	1
29. Degory Priest, ss	1[7]
30. Thomas Williams, ss	1
31. Gilbert Winslow,	1
32. Edmund Margeson, ss	1
33. Peter Brown,	1
34. Richard Britterige, ss	1[8]
35. George Soule,[9]	
36. Richard Clarke, ss	1
37. Richard Gardiner,	1
38. John Allerton, ss	1
39. Thomas English, ss	1
40. Edward Dorey,[10]	} [11]
41. Edward Leicester,	}
	101

So then just 100 who sailed from Plymouth in England, and just as many arrived in Cape Cod harbour.

The following number of deaths occurred during the following winter up to the end of March: in December 6, in January 8, in February 17, in March 13; making 44 in all: of whom were—

Subscribers to the foregoing agreement	21
Dorothy, wife of Gov. Bradford, ...	} 4
Rose, wife of Capt. Standish, ...	
Mary, wife of Mr. Allerton, ...	
Elizabeth, wife of Edward Winslow, ...	
Women, children, and servants, names not known .	19
	44

1 One of these was a servant, who died before their arrival.
2 Besides the son born in Cape Cod harbour, named Peregrine.
3 He was of Gov. Carver's family.
4 One of these was born at sea, and therefore named Oceanus.
5 Mr. Morton calls him Craxton.
6 Mr. Morton seems to mistake in calling him Jose.
7 Mr. Morton calls him Digery.
8 Mr. Morton calls him Bitteridge.
9 He was of Gov. Winslow's family.
10 Mr. Morton seems to mistake in calling him Doten.
11 They were of Mr. Hopkins's family.

portunity urging them thereunto; while their carpenter was trimming up of their boat, sixteen of their men tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, which was accepted; and they being well armed, were sent forth on the 16th of November, 1620,[1] and having marched about a mile by the seaside, they espied five Indians, who ran away from them, and they followed them all that day sundry miles, but could not come to speech with them; so night coming on, they betook themselves to their rendezvous, and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiet that night; and the next morning they followed the Indians' tracks, but could not find them nor their dwellings, but at length lighted on a good quantity of clear ground near to a pond of fresh water,[2] where formerly the Indians had planted Indian corn, at which place they saw sundry of their graves; and proceeding further they found new stubble where Indian corn had been planted the same year; also they found where lately an house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they digged up and found in them divers fair Indian baskets filled with corn, some whereof was in ears, fair and good, of divers colours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, having seen none before,[3] of which rarities they took some to carry to their friends on shipboard, like as the Israelites' spies brought from Eshcol some of the good fruits of the land; but finding little that might make for their encouragement as to situation, they returned, being gladly received by the rest of their company.

[1] Capt. Standish commanded on this expedition; among his associates were William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

[2] In Truro.

[3] The place where the graves were seen is now known by the name of the Great Hollow; south of the Great Hollow is a hill terminating in a cliff, now called the Hopkins' Cliff, supposed to be the place where they found the baskets of Indian corn, and on that account named Cornhill.

"The basket was round, and narrow at the top. It held three

After this, their shallop being ready, they set out the second time for a more full discovery of this place, especially a place that seemed to be an opening as they went into the said harbour some two or three leagues off, which the master judged to be a river; about thirty of them went out on this second discovery, the master of the ship going with them; but upon the more exact discovery thereof, they found it to be no harbour for ships, but only for boats. There they also found two of their houses covered with mats, and sundry of their implements in them; but the people ran away and could not be seen. Also there they found more of their corn and beans of various colours; the corn and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them.[1] And here is to be noted, a special and a great mercy to this people, that here they got them seed to plant them corn the next year, or otherwise they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any until the season had been past (as the sequel did manifest), neither is it likely that they had had this, if the first discovery had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, and hard frozen; but the Lord is never wanting unto those that are his, in their greatest needs. Let his holy name have all the praise.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controverted amongst them what to do, touching their abode and settling there. Some thought it best for many reasons to abide there.

1st. Because of the convenience of the harbour for boats, though not for ships.

or four bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle; and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle, and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us, and when our shallop came, and if we could find any of the people, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn.—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., pp. 209, 210.

1 About six months after they gave them full satisfaction to their content.—M.

2d. There was good corn ground ready to their hands, as was seen by experience in the goodly corn it yielded, which again would agree with the ground, and be natural seed for the same.

3d. Cape Cod was like to be a place for good fishing, for they daily saw great whales of the best kind for oil.

4th. The place was likely to be healthful, secure, and defensible.[1]

5th, and lastly. The especial reason was, that now the heart of the winter and unseasonable weather was come upon them, so as they could not go upon coasting and discovery without danger of losing both men and boat, upon which they would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and sudden storms do there arise; also cold and wet lodging had so tainted their people, as scarce any of them were free from vehement coughs, as if they should continue long, it would endanger the lives of many,

[1] It has been supposed by some that our ancestors were not fortunate in the selection of their plantation, and that they would have found much better land on the other side of the bay. But this is a mistake, for no part of Massachusetts could be better suited to their condition. Had they settled down upon a hard and heavy, though rich soil, what could they have done with it? They had no ploughs, nor beasts of the plough, and yet their chief subsistence was to be derived from the ground. The Plymouth lands were free, light, and easy of tillage, but hard enough for poor pilgrims to dig and plant. And there is perhaps no place in New England where Indian corn could have been raised to better advantage with the same labour. The land yielded well, being new and unworn. And for fish, they could scarcely have been better supplied; and the forests were as well supplied with game as elsewhere. Here they were also favoured by the Prince of the country. The character of Massasoit was humane, and his friendship sincere. The treaty which he made with them, he faithfully performed all his life long, whereas, in other locations, they might have fallen by savage violence. And, moreover, Divine Providence seems to have opened the door to the pilgrims at Plymouth by removing the native inhabitants, so as to make a place for their settlement there.

For many particulars relative to this expedition contained in Mourt's *Relation*, but omitted in this narrative, see *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., pp. 203–213.

and breed diseases and infection amongst them. Again, that as yet they had some provisions, but they would quickly be spent, and then they should have nothing to comfort them in their labour and toil that they were like to undergo. At the first it was also conceived, whilst they had competent victuals, that the ship would stay, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let them shift for themselves.

Others again urged to go to Agawam, alias Angawam,[1] a place about twenty leagues off to the northward, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships, better ground and better fishing.

Secondly. For anything they knew there might be hard by us a better seat, and it would be a great hinderance to seat where they should remove again.

But to omit many reasons and replies concerning this matter, it was in the end concluded to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Angawam. Besides, Robert Coppin, their pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbour in the other headland of the bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being in a right line not much above eight leagues distant, in which he had once been, and beyond that place they that were to go on discovery, were enjoined not to go.[2]

The month of November being spent on these affairs, and having much foul weather; on the 6th of December they concluded to send out their shallop again on a third discovery. The names of those that went on this discovery, were Mr. John Carver, Mr. William Brad-

[1] This was probably Ipswich; although this was the Indian name of part of Wareham, and the village there is still so called.

[2] About this time Mrs. Susannah White was delivered of a son, who was named Peregrine; he was the first of the English that was born in New England, and still surviveth, [A.D. 1669,] and is the Lieutenant of the military company of Marshfield.—M. He died at Marshfield, July 20, 1704, aged 83 years.

ford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Howland, Mr. Richard Warren, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, Mr. Edward Tilly, Mr. John Tilly, Mr. Clark, Mr. Coppin, John Allerton, Thomas English, Edward Doten, with the master gunner of the ship, and three of the common seamen; these set sail on Wednesday the 6th of December, 1620, intending to circulate the deep bay of Cape Cod, the weather being very cold, so as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed, notwithstanding that night they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some ten or twelve Indians, and landed about a league off them (but with some difficulty, by reason of the shoals in that place), where they tarried that night.

In the morning they divided their company to coast along, some on shore and some in the boat, where they saw the Indians had been the day before cutting up a fish like a grampus; and so they ranged up and down all that day; but found no people, nor any place they liked, as fit for their settlement; and that night they on shore met with their boat at a certain creek where they make them a barricado of boughs and logs, for their lodging that night, and, being weary, betook themselves to rest.[1] The next morning, about five o'clock (seeking guidance and protection from God by prayer,) and refreshing themselves, in way of preparation, to persist on their intended expedition, some of them carried their arms down to the boat, having laid them up in their coats from the moisture of the weather; but others said they would not carry theirs until they went themselves. But presently all on a sudden, about the dawning of the day, they heard a great and strange cry, and one of their company being on board, came hastily in, and cried, Indians! Indians! and withal, their arrows came flying amongst them; on which all their men ran with speed to recover their arms; as by God's good providence they did. In the

[1] This is thought to be a place called Namskeket.—M.

mean time some of those that were ready, discharged two muskets at them, and two more stood ready at the entrance of their rendezvous, but were commanded not to shoot until they could take full aim at them; and the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four that had arms there, and defended the barricado which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful,[1] especially when they saw their men run out of their rendezvous towards the shallop, to recover their arms; the Indians wheeling about upon them; but some running out with coats of mail, and cuttle-axes in their hands, they soon recovered their arms, and discharged amongst them, and soon stayed their violence. Notwithstanding there was a lusty man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot, and let his arrows fly amongst them; he was seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided, and stood three shot of musket, until one taking full aim at him, made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears; after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they went all of them;[2] and so leaving some to keep the shallop, they followed them about a quarter of a mile, that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them, or any way discouraged.[3]

Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies, and to give them deliverance, and by his special providence so to dispose, that not any one of them was either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricado, were shot through and through. For which salvation and deliverance they rendered solemn thanksgiving unto the Lord.

From hence they departed, and coasted all along, but

[1] "Their note was after this manner, Woach, woach, ha hach woach."—*Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., p. 219.

[2] "We took up eighteen of their arrows, which we had sent to England, by Master Jones; some whereof were headed with brass, others with hart's horn, and others with eagle's claws."—*Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., p. 219.

[3] This place, on this occasion, was called the First Encounter.—M.

discerned no place likely for harbour, and therefore hasted to the place the pilot (as aforesaid) told them of, who assured them that there was a good harbour, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it began to be foul weather.

After some hours sailing it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon the wind increased, and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder, and it was as much as two men could do to steer the boat with a couple of oars; but the pilot bid them be of good cheer, for he saw the harbour; but the storm increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what sail they could to get in while they could see, but herewith they brake their mast in three pieces, and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood with them, struck into the harbour. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived, and said, Lord be merciful to us, my eyes never saw this place before: and he and the master's mate would have run the boat ashore in a cove full of breakers before the wind,[1] but a lusty seaman, who steered, bid them that rowed, if they were men, about with her, else they were all cast away, the which they did with all speed; so he bid them be of good cheer, and row hard, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety. And although it was very dark, and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island and remained there all night in safety.[2] But they knew not this to be an island until the next morning, but were much divided in their minds, some would keep the boat, doubting they might be amongst the Indians, others were so wet and cold they could not endure, but got on shore, and with much difficulty got fire, and so the whole were

[1] This was between the place called the Gurnet's Nose and Sagaquab by the mouth of Plymouth harbour.—M.

[2] This was afterwards called Clark's Island, because Mr. Clark, the master's mate, first stepped on shore thereon.—M.

refreshed, and rested in safety that night. The next day rendering thanks to God for his great deliverance of them, and his continued merciful good providence towards them; and finding this to be an island, it being the last day of the week, they resolved to keep the sabbath there.

On the second day of the week following,[1] they

1 "On Monday we found a very good harbour for our shipping. We marched also into the land and found divers cornfields and little running brooks; a place very good for situation. This harbour is a bay greater than Cape Cod [harbour] compassed with goodly land, and in the bay two fine Islands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but woods, oaks, pines, walnut, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not. This bay is a most hopeful place; innumerable store of fowl and excellent good; and cannot but be fish in their seasons; skate, cod, turbot, and herring we have tasted of; abundance of mussels, the greatest and best we ever saw; crabs and lobsters in their time infinite: it is in fashion like a sickle or fish-hook."—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., p. 220.

After making the researchest examinations, which have been related, the Pilgrims fixed on Plymouth, called by the natives Patuxet, for their permanent home; and on a day corresponding with the twenty-second day of December, according to the present way of reckoning time, effected a landing, which has ever since been commemorated by their posterity. There were incidents connected with the disembarkation, preserved by tradition, which we cannot detail here, but must refer the curious to the books of the antiquarians. But the "Rock" on which they first planted their feet for permanent settlement (whether it were Miss Chilton or John Alden who made the first successful leap) is well ascertained, and will probably never be forgotten. Indeed the sight of it commands an annual pilgrimage as a memento of the faith, patience, inflexible virtue, and persevering labour of "The Forefathers," who, as President Dwight says, "were inferior to no body of men whose names are recorded in history during the last 1700 years." De Tocqueville says, "This Rock has become an object of veneration in the United States. I have seen bits of it carefully preserved in several towns of the Union. Does not this sufficiently show that all human power and greatness is in the soul of man? Here is a stone which the feet of the outcasts pressed for an instant, and this stone becomes famous; it is treasured by a great nation; its very dust is shared as a relic. And what has become of the gateways of a thousand palaces? who cares for them?"

When the purposes of commerce and navigation called for a location upon the "Rock," the inhabitants of the place removed a considerable part of it, which is now resting in the front of "Pilgrim Hall," with an iron enclosure, bearing the names of the

sounded the harbour, and found it fit for shipping, and marched into the land, and found divers cornfields, and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation, at least it was the best that they could find, and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.[1]

On the fifteenth of December they weighed anchor, to go to the place they had discovered, and arrived the sixteenth day in the harbour they had formerly discovered, and afterward took better view of the place,

"Pilgrim Fathers of our race." The Hall is built of rough granite, 70 feet by 44, and contains many deposits of the *heirlooms* of the Pilgrims, and other memorials of the olden time, and affords convenient rooms for the annual celebrations. A picture of the landing and full-length portraits of the boat's company, and of their friend Samoset, adorns one side of the Hall, the gift of the artist, Col. Seargeant.

It is in contemplation to erect a monument to the memory of the Fathers, the expense of which is not to exceed $100,000, at the place of the original landing, and where the most considerable part of the "Rock" still rests; and generous subscriptions are already made for that purpose. The celebration of the landing on "Forefathers' Day," is not only attended at Plymouth, but at Boston, New York, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Charleston, Buffalo, Detroit, and perhaps some other places.

We have said the "Rock" is well ascertained. At the commencement of the present century, an aged Deacon of the Plymouth Church was living, who remembered "Elder Founce," the son of a Pilgrim, and who died in 1746, aged ninety-nine years, and who well remembered many of the "First Comers," and knew the "Rock," on which they first landed. When so aged that he could not be abroad, the Elder was informed that the "Rock" was covered, or about to be covered, by the erection of a store and wharf; and he was so affected by the information, that he wept grievously. Out of respect to the feelings of the Elder, and perhaps veneration for the place, the "Rock" was not covered. The writer of this note had these facts of the Deacon himself, and they are also substantially so related by Dr. Holmes.—*Annals*, vol. i., p. 168.

1 December 4, dies Edward Thomson, servant of Mr. White. The first that dies since their arrival. December 6, dies Jasper, a boy of Mr. Carver's. December 7, Dorothy, wife of Mr. William Bradford; she fell from the ship and was drowned, while her husband was absent on this exploring expedition.—*New Eng. Chron.*, p. 165.

and resolved where to pitch their dwellings; and on the five and twentieth day of December began to erect the first house for common use, to receive them and their goods. And after they had provided a place for their goods and common store (which was long in unlading for want of boats, and by reason of foulness of the winter weather, and sickness of divers) they began to build some small cottages for habitation, as time would admit; and also consulted of laws and orders both for their civil and military government, as the necessity of their present condition did require. But that which was sad and lamentable, in two or three months' time half their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage and their incommodate condition had brought upon them, so as there died, sometimes two, sometimes three, on a day, in the aforesaid time, that of one hundred and odd persons, scarce fifty remained. Amongst others in the time fore named, died Mr. William Mullins, a man pious and well deserving, endowed also with a considerable outward estate; and had it been the will of God that he had survived, might have proved an useful instrument in his place, with several others who deceased in this great and common affliction, whom I might take notice of to the like effect. Of those that did survive in this time of distress and calamity that was upon them, there was sometimes but six or seven sound persons, who (to their great commendation be it spoke) spared no pains night nor day to be helpful to the rest, not shunning to do very mean services to help the weak and impotent.[1] In which sickness the seamen shared also deeply, and many died, to about the one half of them before they went away. Thus being but few, and very weak, this was an opportunity for the savages to have made a prey of them, who were wont to be most cruel and treacherous people in all these

[1] Two of the seven, says Mr. Bradford, were Mr. Brewster, their reverend elder, and Mr. Standish, their captain.—*New Eng. Chron.*

parts, even like lions; but to them they were as lambs, God striking a dread in their hearts, so that they received no harm from them. The Lord also so disposed, as aforesaid, much to waste them by a great mortality, together with which were their own civil dissensions, and bloody wars, so as the twentieth person was scarce left alive when these people arrived, there remaining sad spectacles of that mortality in the place where they seated, by many bones and skulls of the dead lying above ground; whereby it appeared that the living of them were not able to bury their dead. Some of the ancient Indians, that are surviving at the writing hereof, do affirm, that about some two or three years before the first English arrived here, they saw a blazing star, or comet [1] which was a forerunner of this sad mortality, for soon after it came upon them in extremity.[2] Thus God made way for his people, by removing the heathen, and planting them in the land; yet we hope in mercy to some of the posterity of these blind savages, by being a means, at least stepping-stones, for others to come and preach the gospel among them; of which afterwards in its more proper place. But to return.

[1] This seemeth to be the same that was seen about that time in Europe.—M.

[2] In 1617 the country of the Pawkunnawkuts was nearly depopulated by the great plague. It is certainly remarkable that the Pilgrims should have selected a location which was made vacant for them by the hand of Providence, while unaware of the fact. The fact itself is also remarkable, as it opened a way for colonizing the country, which we cannot suppose could have been done by so small a number of persons, if the immediate region had been filled with savages. But the wasting sickness among them can hardly be connected with the comet which appeared in 1618; the sickness was three or four years at least before the arrival of the Pilgrims. The pestilence was not extensive; it was not on the Cape, nor far into Massachusetts, and scarcely reached the interior. As to the suggestion of a special providence in this sickness, Hutchinson says, "Should we not go into the contrary extreme if we were to take no notice of the extinction of this people in all parts of the continent? In some, the English have made use of means the most likely to have prevented it, but all to no purpose. They waste, they moulder away, they disappear."

The poets knew how to use this superstition of the baneful influence of comets to advantage :—

The Indians, after their arrival, would show themselves afar off, but when they endeavoured to come near them they would run away. But about the 16th of March, 1621, a certain Indian called Samoset, came boldly among them and spoke to them in broken English, which yet they could well understand, at which they marvelled; but at length they understood that he belonged to the eastern parts of the country, and had acquaintance with sundry of the English fishermen, and could name sundry of them, from whom he learned his language. He became very profitable to them, in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the eastern parts, as also of the people here; of their names, number, and strength, of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief amongst them. He told them also of another Indian called Squanto, alias Tisquantum, one of this place, who had been in England, and could speak better English than himself: and after courteous entertainment of him he was dismissed. Afterwards he came again with some other natives, and told them of the coming of the great Sachem, named Massasoiet,[1] who (about four or five days after) came, with the chief of his friends and other attendants, with the aforesaid Squanto, with whom (after friendly entertainment and some gifts given him) they made a league of peace with him, which continued with him and his successors to

"——Like a comet burned,
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In th' arctic sky, and from its horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war."

MILTON.

"Comets, importing change of time and states,
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky."

SHAKSPEARE.

Mr. Oliver was the first among us who seems to have viewed the "mysterious strangers" with a true philosophical spirit and ken: "they are now received with a cordial welcome, and are looked upon with calm complacence."—*Trea. Com.*

[1] Gov. Winslow spells his name Massassowat; he resided at Sowams, or Sowampset, at the confluence of two rivers in Rehoboth or Swazey, though occasionally at Mont Haup, or Mount

the time of the writing hereof. The terms and conditions of the said league are as followeth :—[1]

I. That neither he nor any of his, should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

II. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender that they might punish him.

III. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.

IV. That if any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

V. That he should send to his neighbour confederates, to inform them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in these conditions of peace.

VI. That when his men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms (which were then bows and arrows) behind them.

VII. Lastly. That so doing their sovereign Lord King James would esteem him as his friend and ally.

All which he liked well, and withal at the same time acknowledged himself content to become the subject of

Hope, the principal residence of his son Philip. The region round about was called Pawcawnawkit, or Pacanoiket, and the Sachemdom by that name included the whole of what is now the Old Colony. He was called King (or Sachem) of the Wompanaogs, the first being the name of the territory and the last the people. The first we learn of him is in 1619, when Capt. Dermer met him at Namasket, and delivered to him the kidnapped Tisquantum. We next find him with the Pilgrims. The treaty which he made with them, mentioned in the text, was faithfully kept, and he was their fast friend while he lived. We have an account of two visits at his place, first by Gov. Winslow and Mr. Hopkins, and afterwards by Gov. Winslow and Mr. Hampden. It seems that, in about ten years he changed his name to Woosamequen, and in 1639 this treaty, or league, was renewed by his special desire, his son Wamsutta, or Mooanam (the heir apparent), being a party; he was afterwards named Alexander. Governor Hutchinson says, Massasoit died about the year 1656, and Wamsutta succeeded him in the Sachemdom. As he is said to have been "in his best years" when the treaty was made, he must have been full 70 years of age when he died.

[1] Of this see more in the year 1639.—M.

our sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, his heirs and successors; and gave unto them all the lands adjacent, to them and their heirs for ever.

After these things he returned to his place called Sowams, about forty miles distant from Plimouth, but Squanto[1] continued with them, and was their interpreter, and proved a special instrument sent of God for their good, beyond expectation; he directed them in planting their corn, where to take their fish, and to procure their commodities; and also was their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them until his death. He was a native of this place where Plimouth is, and scarce any left besides himself. He was carried away (with divers others) by one named Hunt, a master of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spain, but he got away for England, and was entertained by a merchant in London,[2]

[1] He is variously called Squanto, Squantum, and Tisquantum. There is some disagreement in the narratives of the contemporary writers in respect to this chief, which shows either that some of them are in error, or that there were two of the same name,—one carried away by Waymouth, and the other by Hunt. From a critical examination of the accounts, it is believed there was but one, and that he was carried away by Waymouth, as Sir Ferdinand Gorges relates. He says, "It so pleased our great God that Waymouth on his return to England, came into the harbour of Plymouth, where I then commanded. Three of whose natives, namely, Manida, Skettwarroes, and Tisquantum, I seized upon. They were all of one nation, but of several parts and several families." It is impossible that Sir Ferdinando should have been mistaken in the names of those he received from Waymouth. The names of those carried off by Hunt are not given, or but few of them, nor were they kidnapped until nine years after Waymouth's voyage. It is therefore possible that *Squantum* having returned home from the service of Gorges, went again to England with some other person, or perhaps even with Hunt. But we are inclined to think there was but one of the name, and his being carried away an error of inadvertence.

Squanto died December, 1622, while acting as pilot for the colonists. He desired the Governor to pray for him, that he might go to the Englishman's God. To him the Pilgrims were greatly indebted, though he often, through shortsightedness, gave them, as well as himself, great trouble, as will appear in the lives of Massasoit and Hobamak.—Drake's *Hist. of the Indians*, pp. 71–79.

[2] This merchant's name was Mr. Slaney.—M.

and employed to Newfoundland and other parts; and at last brought hither into these parts by one Mr. Dermer, a gentleman employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery and other designs in these parts; of whom I shall say something, because it is mentioned in a book set forth, anno 162[illegible], by the president and council for New England, that he made the peace between the savages of those parts and the English, of which this plantation (as it is intimated) had the benefit: and what a peace it was may appear from what befell him and his men.

This Mr. Dermer was here the same year that these people came, as appears by a relation written by him, bearing date June 30, anno 1620, and they arrived in the country in the month of November following, so that there was but four months difference. In which relation to his honoured friend, he hath these passages of this very place where New Plimouth is; "I will first begin (saith he) with that place from whence Squanto, or Tisquantum, was taken away, which in Captain Smith's map is called Plimouth,[1] and I would that Plimouth had the like commodities. I would that the first plantation might here be seated, if there come to the number of fifty persons, or upwards; otherwise at Charlton, because there the savages are less to be feared. The Pocanakets, which live to the west of Plimouth, bear an inveterate malignity to the English, and are of more strength than all the savages from thence to Panobskut. Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an Englishman, who having many of them on board, made great slaughter of them with their murderers and small shot, when (as they say) they offered no injury on their parts. Whether they were English or no, it may be doubted; yet they believe they were, for the French have so possessed them: for which cause Squanto cannot deny but they would have killed

[1] This name of Plimouth was so called not only for the reason here named, but also because Plimouth in O. E. was the last town they left in their native country; and for that they received many kindnesses from some Christians there.—M.

me when I was at Namassaket,[1] had not he entreated hard for me. The soil of the borders of this great bay may be compared to most of the plantations which I have seen in Virginia. The land is of divers sorts; for Patukset[2] is an heavy but strong soil; Nauset[3] and Satuket[4] are for the most part a blackish and deep mould, much like that where groweth the best tobacco in Virginia. In the bottom of the bay is great store of cod, bass, or mullet, etc." And above all he commends Pacannaket "for the richest soil, and much open ground, likely and fit for English grain. Massachusetts is about nine leagues from Plimouth, and situate in the midst. Between both is many islands and peninsulas, very fertile for the most part." With sundry such relations which I forbear to transcribe, being now better known than they were to him.

This gentleman was taken prisoner by the Indians at Mannamoset (a place not far from Plimouth, now well known), he gave them what they demanded for his liberty; but when they had got what they desired, they kept him still, and endeavoured to kill some of his men, but he was freed by seizing on some of them, and kept them bound till they gave him a canoe load of corn: of which see Purch. lib. 9, fol. 1778. But this was anno 1619.

After the writing of the former relation, he came to the isle Capewak,[5] which lieth south from this place, in the way to Virginia, and the aforesaid Squanto with him; where he going on shore amongst the Indians to trade as he used to do, was assaulted and betrayed by them, and all his men slain, but one that kept the boat; but himself got on board, very sore wounded, and they had cut off his head upon the cuddy of the boat, had

1. This Indian settlement was in Middleborough, about 15 miles from Plymouth.

2 This description of the soil could apply to only small parts of Plymouth, in low places.

3 Nauset—Eastham.

4 Satuket, or Sawkatucket, the west part of Brewster.

5 Now called Martin's Vineyard.

not his man rescued him with a sword, and so they got him away, and made shift to get into Virginia, where he died, whether of his wounds, or the diseases of the country, or both, is uncertain. By all which it may appear how far this people were from peace, and with what danger this plantation was begun, save as the powerful hand of the Lord did protect them.

These things were partly the reasons why the Indians kept aloof, as aforesaid, and that it was so long ere they could come to speech with any of them. Another reason (as afterwards themselves made known) was, how that about three years before these first planters arrived, a certain French ship was cast away at Cape Cod, but the men got on shore, and saved their lives, and much of their victuals and other goods; but afterwards the Indians heard of it, and gathered together from these parts, and never left watching and dogging them until they got advantage, and killed them all but three or four, which they kept and sent from one Sachem to another to make sport with them, and used them worse than slaves; and they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it. Two of the said French so used were redeemed by the aforesaid Mr. Dermer, the other died amongst the Indians; and as the Indians have reported, one of them lived amongst them until he was able to discourse with them, and told them, that God was angry with them for their wickedness, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people, that should not live like beasts as they did, but should be clothed, etc. But they derided him and said, that they were so many that God could not kill them. His answer was, that though they were never so many, God had many ways to destroy them that they knew not.[1] Shortly after his death came the plague, a disease they never heard of before, and mightily swept them away, and left them as dung upon the earth (as you have heard). Not long after came the English to New

1 A memorable passage of God's punishing of the heathen for their notorious blasphemy, and other sins.—M.

Plimouth, and then several of the Indians began to mind the Frenchman's words, thinking him to be more than an ordinary man. And as the first part of his speech had proved true, they began to be apprehensive of the latter, namely, the loss of their country. This relation the first planters at Plimouth, after they came to be acquainted with them, several of them heard from divers of their ancient and gravest Indians, and have often seen the place where the French were surprised and taken; which place beareth the name of Frenchman's Point with many to this day. This relation, for the verity thereof, being also very observable, was thought meet to be here inserted, and let me add a word hereunto; that it is very observable likewise, that God hath very evidently made way for the English, by sweeping away the natives by some great mortalities; as first, by the plague here in Plimouth jurisdiction; secondly by the smallpox in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, a very considerable people a little before the English came into the country; as also at Connecticut, very full of Indians a little before the English went into those parts; and then the Pequots by the sword of the English (as will appear in its place) and the country now mostly possessed by the English. I might also mention several places in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, peopled with considerable companies of proper able men, since the first planters thereof came over, even in our sight, before they were in a capacity to improve any of their land, that have by the same hand of Providence been cut off, and so their land even cleared for them, and now so replenished with their posterity, that places are too strait for them. By little and little (saith God of old to his people) will I drive them out from before thee, till thou be increased, and inherit the land, Exod. xxiii. 28–30.

But before I pass on, let the reader take notice of a very remarkable particular, which was made known to the planters at Plimouth, some short space after their arrival, that the Indians, before they came to the English to make friendship with them, they got all the

powaws in the country, who, for three days together, in a horrid and devilish manner did curse and execrate them with their conjurations; which assembly and service they held in a dark and dismal swamp.[1] But to return.

The spring being now come, it pleased God that the mortality which had taken away so many of the first planters at Plimouth ceased, and the sick and lame recovered apace, which was, as it were, new life put into them; they having borne this affliction with much patience, being upheld by the Lord. And thus we are come unto the twenty-fifth of March, 1621.[2]

1621.[3]

This year several of the Indian Sachems (besides Massasoiet, before named) came into the government of New Plimouth, and acknowledged themselves to be loyal subjects of our sovereign Lord King James, and subscribed unto a writing to that purpose with their own hands; the tenor of which said writing followeth, with their names annexed thereunto. It being conceived, by some that are judicious, that it may be of use in succeeding times, I thought meet here to insert it.

September 13, Anno Dom. 1621.

Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal subjects of King James, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.

1 Behold how Satan laboured to hinder the gospel from coming into New England.—M.

2 See Prince's *Chronology* for the time.

3 See Prince's *Chronology* for this year.

In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks, as followeth :—

Ohquamehud,	*Nattawahunt,*	*Quadaquina,*
Cawnacome,	*Caunbatant,*	*Huttmoiden,*
Obbatinnua,	*Chikkatabak,*	*Apannow.*

Now followeth several passages of the providence of God to, and the further progress of, the first planters at Plimouth, appertaining to the year 1621.

They now began to hasten the ship away, which tarried so long by reason of the necessity and danger that lay on them, because so many died both of themselves and the ship's company likewise; by which they became so few, as the master durst not put to sea until those that lived recovered of their sickness and the winter over.

The spring of this year they planted their first corn in New England, being instructed in the manner thereof by the forenamed Squanto; they likewise sowed some English grain with little success, by reason partly of the badness of the seed, and lateness of the season, or some other defect not then discerned.

In the month of April, in this year, their governor, Mr. John Carver, fell sick, and within a few days after he died, whose death was much lamented, and caused great heaviness amongst them, and there was indeed great cause. He was buried in the best manner they could, with as much solemnity as they were in a capacity to perform, with the discharge of some volleys of shot of all that bare arms. This worthy gentleman was one of singular piety, and rare for humility, as appeared by his great condescendency, when as this poor people were in great sickness and weakness, he shunned not to do very mean services for them, yea the meanest of them. He bare a share likewise of their labour in his own person, accordingly as their extreme necessity required; who being one also of a consider-

able estate, spent the main part of it in this enterprise, and from first to last approved himself not only as their agent in the first transacting of things, but also all along to the period of his life, to be a pious, faithful, and very beneficial instrument, and now is reaping the fruit of his labour with the Lord.[1]

His wife, who was also a gracious woman, lived not six weeks after him; she being overcome with excessive grief for the loss of so gracious an husband, likewise died.

In some short distance of time after this, Mr. William Bradford was chosen Governor of Plimouth in his stead, being not as yet well recovered of his weakness, having been at the point of death, and Mr. Isaac Allerton likewise was chosen to be his assistant.

The 2d of July in this year they sent Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, unto the great Sachem Massasoit aforesaid, with a gratuity, to congratulate with him and to view his country, and likewise to take notice of what strength of men he had, etc., having Squanto for their guide, who found his place to be about forty miles from New Plimouth, his people few in comparison of what they had been, by reason of the mortality amongst the Indians forementioned. These brought word, upon their return, of the Narragansets, a people that lived on the other side of that great bay, which are a people strong and many in number, living compact together, and had not at all been touched with the wasting plague before specified. They also brought a full intelligence in reference unto the particulars they were sent about, and so returned in safety.

1 Gov. Carver was taken sick in the field, while they were engaged in their planting. Many able pens have been employed in pourtraying his character. One of his grandsons lived to the age of one hundred and two years; and about the middle of the last century (1775) that descendant, with his son, grandson, and great-grandson, were all at the same time at work, in the same field, whilst an infant of the fifth generation was within the house at Marshfield.—Belknap's *Amer. Biog.*, ii. 216.

Thus their peace being well established with the natives about them, which was much furthered by an Indian named Hobamak,[1] who came to live amongst the English, he being a proper lusty young man, and one that was in account amongst the Indians in those parts for his valour, continued faithful and constant to the English until his death. He, with the said Squanto, being sent amongst the Indians about business for the English, were surprised by an Indian Sachem named Corbitant, who was no friend to the English; he met with him at Namassaket, and began to quarrel with him, and offered to stab Hobamak, who, being a strong man, soon cleared himself of him; and with speed came and gave intelligence to the Governor of Plimouth, saying he feared that Squanto was slain, for they were both threatened, and for no other cause, but that they were friends to the English, and serviceable to them. On which it was thought meet to vindicate their messengers, and not to suffer them to be thus wronged, and it was concluded to send some men to Namassaket well armed, and to fall upon them; whereupon fourteen men being well prepared, were sent, under the conduct of Capt. Miles Standish, who, when they came thither, beset the house, and the said captain entered into the same to look for the said Corbitant, but he was fled, and so they missed of him; but understood that Squanto was alive; so they withheld and did no hurt, save three of the natives, pressing out of the house when it was beset, were sorely wounded; which they brought home to their town with them, and were dressed by their surgeon and cured.

After this they had many congratulations from divers Sachems, and much firmer peace, yea those of the isle of Capewak sent to make friendship with them, and this Corbitant himself used the mediation of Massasoit to make his peace, but was shy to come near them a long time after.

[1] Hobamak was a Chief Captain of Massasoit; he continued to live with the English till his death, and gave some good hopes that his soul went to rest.—*N. E. First Fruits.*

After this, on the eighteenth of September, they sent out their boat to the Massachusetts with ten men, and Squanto for their interpreter, to discover and view that bay, and to trade with the natives; and found kind entertainment with them, who expressed themselves to be much afraid of the Tarateens, a people in the eastern part of New England, which used to come in harvest time and take away their corn, and many times kill some of their people; who after they had accomplished their business, returned in safety, and made report of the place, wishing they had been there seated. But the Lord, who assigns to all men the bounds of their habitations, had appointed it for another end and use.

And thus they found the Lord to be with them in all their ways, and to bless their outgoings and incomings; for which let his holy name have the praise for ever.

Being now well recovered in respect of health (as hath been said), they began to fit up their buildings against winter, and received in their first harvest, and had great plenty of fowl and fish, to their great refreshing.

About the ninth of November came in a small ship, to them unexpected,[1] in which came Mr. Robert Cushman, who was both a godly man, and an active and faithful agent, and useful instrument in the common interest of this first design; and there came with him in that ship thirty-five persons, to remain and live in the plantation; which did not a little rejoice the first planters. And these when they came on shore, and found all well, and saw plenty of provisions beyond their expectation, were also satisfied and no less glad; for coming in at Cape Cod, before they came to Plimouth, and seeing nothing there but a barren place, they then began to think what should become of them, if the people were dead, or cut off by the Indians; and began to consult upon some passages, which some of the

[1] This ship was called the *Fortune*, in which came no provisions, which was one cause of a great famine that befel the plantation of New Plimouth soon after.—M.

seamen had cast out, to take the sails from the yards, lest the ship should get away and leave them; but the master hearing thereof, gave them good words, and told them, if anything but well should have befallen the people at Plimouth, he hoped he had provisions enough to carry them to Virginia, and whilst he had any, they should have their part, which gave them good satisfaction.

This ship stayed at Plimouth not above fourteen days, and returned; and soon after her departure, the people called the Narragansets, aforesaid, sent messengers unto the plantation, with a bundle of arrows, tied together with a snake's skin, which their interpreter Squanto told them was a threatening, and a challenge; upon which the governor of Plimouth sent them a rough answer, namely, that if they loved war rather than peace, they might begin when they would, they had done them no wrong, neither did they fear them, nor should they find them unprovided; and by another messenger sent the snake's skin back again, with bullets in it, but they would not receive it, but sent it back again. It is probable the reason of this their message to the English was their own ambition, who, since the death of so many Indians, thought to domineer and lord it over the rest, and conceived the English would be a bar in the way, and saw that Massasoit took shelter already under their wings. But this made the English more carefully to look to themselves, so they agreed to close their dwellings with a good strong pale, and made flankers in convenient places, with gates to shut, which were every night locked, and a watch kept, and when need required, there was also warding in the daytime; and the company was, by the governor and captain's advice, divided into four squadrons, and every one had their quarter appointed them, unto which they were to repair; and if there should be any cry of fire, a company was appointed for a guard with muskets, whilst others quenched the fire; the same to prevent Indian treachery. And herewith I shall end the passages of this year.

1622.[1]

At the spring of this year, the English having certified the Indians of the Massachusetts, that they would come again unto them, they accordingly prepared to go thither; but upon some rumours which they heard from Hobamak their friend forenamed, who feared that the Massachusetts were joined with the Narragansets, and might betray them if they were not careful; and intimated also his jealousies of Squanto, by what he gathered from some private whisperings between him and other Indians, that he was not really cordial to the English in what he pretended, made them cautious. Notwithstanding, they sent out their boat, with ten of their principal men, about the beginning of April, and both Squanto and Hobamak with them, in regard of the jealousy between them; but they had not been gone long, ere that an Indian belonging to Squanto's family came running, seeming to be in great fear, and told them that many of the Narragansets, with Corbitant (and he thought Massasoit), was coming against them; at which they betook themselves to their arms, and supposing that the boat was not yet out of call, they caused a piece of ordnance to be discharged, to call them in again; but this proved otherwise, for no Indians came. After this they went to the Massachusetts, and had good trade, and returned in safety, God be praised.

But by the former passages and things of like nature, they began to see that Squanto sought his own ends, and played his own game, by putting the Indians in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich himself; making them believe he could stir up war against them when he would, and make peace for them when he would; yea, he made them believe that the English kept the plague buried in the ground;[2] and could send it amongst whom they would, which did much terrify

[1] See Prince's *Chronology* for this year.

[2] This was said to be a barrel of gunpowder buried in the ground.—*M.*

the Indians; and made them more depend on him and seek more to him than to their great sachem Massasoit; which procured him envy, and had like to have cost him his life; for after the discovery of these practices, the said Massasoit sought it both privately and openly; which caused him to stick close to the English, and never after durst go from them until his death. They also made good use of the emulation that grew between Hobamak and him, which made them both carry more squarely; and the governor seemed to countenance the one, and their captain the other; by which they had the better intelligence, and made them both the more diligent.

About the latter end of May they espied a vessel at sea, which at the first they thought to be a Frenchman, but it proved one that belonged to Mr. Thomas Weston, a merchant; which came from a ship which he and another had sent out on fishing to a place called Damarel's Cove, in the eastern parts of New England. This boat brought seven men, and some letters, but no provisions to them, of which they were in continual expectation from England, which expectations were frustrated in that behalf; for they never had any supply to any purpose after this time, but what the Lord helped them to raise by their industry among themselves; for all that came afterwards was too short for the passengers that came with it.

After this the same year, the above-named Mr. Thomas Weston, who had formerly been one of the merchant adventurers to the plantation of New Plimouth (but had now broken off and deserted the general concerns thereof), sent over two ships, the one named the *Sparrow*,[1] the other the *Charity*, on his own particular interest; in the one of them came sixty lusty men, who were to be put on shore at Plimouth, for the ship was to go with other passengers to Virginia; these were courteously entertained (with the seven men forenamed, belonging to the said Weston), at Plimouth

[1] According to Prince, the *Swan*.

aforesaid, until the ship returned from Virginia, by the direction of the said Mr. Weston, their master, or such as he had set over them, they removed into the Massachusetts Bay, he having got a patent for some part there, yet they left all their sick folks at Plimouth, until they were settled and fitted for housing to receive them. These were an unruly company, and no good government over them, and by disorder fell into many wants as afterwards will appear.

But before I pass on, I may not omit the mentioning of a courteous letter that came in the vessel above named, in which the above said seven men came, being directed to the governor of Plimouth, with respect unto the whole plantation, from a captain of a ship at the eastward, who came thither on a fishing voyage; the which for the ingenuity of the man, and his courtesy therein expressed, may not unfitly be here inserted, being inscribed as followeth :—

To all his good Friends in Plimouth,

Friends, countrymen, and neighbours, I salute you, and wish you all health and happiness in the Lord. I make bold with these few lines to trouble you, because unless I were inhuman, I can do no less. Bad news doth spread itself too far, yet I will so far inform, that myself with many good friends in the south colony of Virginia have received such a blow, that four hundred persons large will not make good our losses. Therefore I do entreat you, although not knowing you, that the old rule which I learned when I went to school, may be sufficient, that is, "Happy is he who other men's harms do make to beware." And now again and again, wishing all those that willingly would serve the Lord, all health and happiness in this world, and everlasting peace in the world to come.

I rest yours,
John Hudston.

In the same vessel the governor returned a thankful answer, as was meet, and sent a boat of their own

with them, which was piloted by them; in which Mr. Edward Winslow was sent to procure what provisions he could of the ship, who was kindly received by the aforesaid gentleman, who not only spared what he could, but wrote to others to do the like; by which means the plantation had a good quantity of provisions.[1]

This summer they built a fort with good timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defence, made with a flat roof and battlements; on which fort their ordnance was mounted, and where they kept constant watch, especially in time of danger. It served them also for a meeting-house, and was fitted accordingly for that use. It was a great work for them to do in their weakness, and times of want; but the danger of the time required it; there being continual rumours of the Indians, and fears of their rising against them, especially the Narragansets; and also the hearing of that great and sad massacre in Virginia above named.[2]

Now the welcome harvest approached, in the which all had some refreshment, but it arose but to a little in comparison of a whole year's supply; partly by reason they were not yet well acquainted with the manner of the husbandry of the Indian corn (having no other), and also their many other employments; but chiefly their weakness for want of food, so as to appearance, famine was like to ensue, if not some way prevented. Markets there was none to go unto, but only the Indians; but they had no trading stuff. But behold now another providence of God; a ship came into the harbour, one Capt. Jones being chief in her, set out by some mer-

[1] Although this was not much amongst them all, yet it was a very seasonable blessing and supply, they being now in a low condition for want of food.—M.

[2] Here, in the first edition of Morton, is an account of a severe drought, of a fast, and of a thanksgiving. But it seems from Prince that Morton was mistaken in regard to the date of these occurrences, and that they took place the next year. Following Prince, therefore, as has Judge Davis in his edition, we transfer two paragraphs that were originally here inserted, to their proper location in 1623.

chants to discover all the harbours between Cape Cod and Virginia, and to trade along the coast. This ship had store of English beads (which were then good trade), and some knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantity together; yet they were glad of the occasion, and fain to buy at any rate: they were fain to give after the rate of cent. per cent., if not more, and yet pay away coat beaver at three shillings per pound. By this means they were fitted again to trade for beaver and other things, and so procured what corn they could.

But here let me take liberty to make a little digression. There was in the ship sent by Mr. Weston forenamed (in which his men came) a gentleman named Mr. John Porey, he had been secretary in Virginia, and was now going home passenger in this ship. After his departure he wrote a letter to the governor of Plimouth, in the postscript whereof he hath these expressions following:—

"To yourself and Mr. Brewster I must humbly acknowledge myself many ways indebted, whose books I would have you think very well bestowed, who esteems them such jewels. My haste would not suffer me to remember, much less to beg Mr. Ainsworth's elaborate work on the five books of Moses; both his and Mr. Robinson's do highly commend the authors, as being most conversant in the Scriptures of all others; and what good who knows it may please God to work by them through my hands, though most unworthy, who find such high content in them. God have you all in his keeping.

"Your unfeigned and firm friend,

"John Porey.

"August 28, 1622."

These things I here insert, partly for the honour's sake of the author's memory, which this gentleman doth so ingeniously acknowledge, and also the credit and good that he procured unto the plantation of Pli-

mouth after his return, and that amongst those of no mean rank. But to return.

Mr. Weston's people forenamed, who were now seated in the bay of the Massachusetts, at a place called by the Indians Wesagusquaset,[1] and by disorder (as it seemed) had made havoc of their provision; they began now to conceive that want would come upon them; and hearing that their neighbours at Plimouth had bought trading stuff, as aforesaid, and intended to trade for corn, they wrote to the governor, and desired that they might join with them, and they would employ their small ship[2] in this service; and also requested to lend or sell them so much of their trading stuff as their part might come to; which was agreed unto on equal terms; so they went out in the expedition, with an intention to go about Cape Cod to the southward, but meeting with cross winds, and other crosses, went in at Mannomoik,[3] where the aforesaid Squanto, being their guide and interpreter, fell sick, and within a few days died. A little before his death, he desired the governor of Plimouth (who then was there) to pray for him, that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven; and bequeathed divers of his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom they had a great loss.[4]

Here they got a considerable quantity of corn, and so returned. After these things, John Saunders, who was left chief over Mr. Weston's men at Wesagusquaset, in the month of February, sent a messenger, showing the great wants they were fallen into, and would have borrowed corn of the Indians, but they would lend him none; and desired advice whether he might take it from them by force to succour his men, until return from the eastward, whither he was now going. But the governor and the rest dissuaded him by all means from it, for it might so exasperate the Indians,

[1] Now by the English called Weymouth.—M.
[2] The *Swan*.
[3] Chatham.
[4] His conduct was generally good, and his services useful to the infant colony.

as might endanger their safety, and all of them might smart for it; for they had already heard how they had wronged the Indians, by stealing their corn, etc., so as the natives were much incensed against them; yea, so base were some of their own company, as they went and told the Indians, that their governor was purposed to come and take their corn by force, which, with other things, made them enter into a conspiracy against the English. And herewith I end the relation of the most remarkable passages of God's providence towards the first planters, which fell out in this year.

1623.

Mr. Weston's people forenamed, notwithstanding all helps they could procure for supply of provisions, fell into great extremity; which was occasioned by their excessive expence while they had it, or could get it: and after they came into want, many sold away their clothes and bed coverings; others were so base as they become servants to the Indians, and would cut them wood, and fetch them water for a cap full of corn; others fell to stealing, both night and day, from the Indians, of which they grievously complained. In the end they came to that misery that some starved and died with hunger; and one, in gathering of shell-fish, was so weak, as he stuck fast in the mud, and was found dead in the place; and most of them left their dwellings, and were scattered up and down in the woods by the water-side, where they could find groundnuts and clams, here six and there ten, by which their carriages they became contemned and scorned of the Indians, insomuch as they began greatly to insult over them in a most insolent manner, so as if they had set on such victuals as they had gotten to dress it, when it was ready the Indians would come and eat it up; and when night came, when as possibly some of them had a sorry blanket, or such like, to lap themselves in, the Indians would take it, and let the other lie all night in

the cold, so as their condition was very lamentable; and in the end they were fain to hang one of their company, whom they could not reclaim from stealing, to give the Indians content.

Whilst things went on in this manner with them, the governor and people of Plimouth had notice that the sachem Massasoit, their friend, was sick, and near unto death, and they sent to visit him, and sent him some comfortable things, which gave him content, and was a means of his recovery; upon which occasion he discovered the conspiracy of these Indians, how they were resolved to cut off Mr. Weston's company,[1] for the continual injuries they had done them, and would now take opportunity of their weakness, and do it; and for that end had conspired with other Indians their neighbours thereabout. And thinking the people here would revenge their death, they therefore thought to do the like by them, therefore [advised] to prevent it, and that speedily, by taking some of the chief of them before it was too late, for he assured them of the truth thereof.

This did much trouble them, and they took it into serious consideration, and found upon examination, and other evidences to give light thereunto, that the matter was really so, as the said sachem had told them. In the mean time came an Englishman [2] from the Massachusetts, from the said company in misery, as hath been above related, with a pack at his back; and although he knew not a foot of the way, yet he got safe hither, but lost his way, which was well for him, for he was pursued by two Indians, who by God's providence, missed of him by that means; and he related how all things stood with them there, and that he durst stay no longer,

[1] The conspiracy, as related to Winslow, was to an alarming extent, embracing tribes in every direction. The Massachusetts Indians were the principals, and had engaged, it was said, those of Nauset, Pamet, Succonet, Mattachiest, Manomet, Agawaywam, and the isle of Capawack to co-operate with them.

[2] This man's name was Phinehas Pratt, who has penned the particulars of his perilous journey, and some other things relating to this tragedy.—M. This man was living in 1677, when Mr. Hubbard wrote his *History*.

for he apprehended by what he observed they would be all slain erelong. This made them make the more haste, and they despatched a boat away with some men, under the conduct of Capt. Standish, who found them in a miserable condition; out of which he rescued them, and helped them to some relief, cut off some of the chief conspirators against them, and according to his order, offered to bring them all to Plimouth, to be there until Mr. Weston came, or some other way should be presented for their help. They thanked him and the rest, but they rather desired that he would help them with some corn, and they would go with their small ship to the eastward, to look out a way for themselves, either to have relief by meeting with Mr. Weston, or if not, to work with the fishermen for their supply, and their passage for England; so they shipped what they had of any worth, and he helped them with as much corn as he could, and saw them out of the bay under sail, and so came home, not taking the worth of a penny of any of them.

This was the end of these that sometimes boasted of their strength, being all able, lusty men, and what they would do and bring to pass, in comparison of the people at Plimouth, who had many women and children, and weak ones; and said at their first arrival, when they saw the wants at Plimouth, that they would take another course and not fall into such a condition as this simple people were come to. But a man's way is not in his own power; God can make the weak stand. Let him that thinketh he standeth (in such respect as well as other), take heed lest he fall.[1]

Shortly after, Mr. Weston came over with some of the fishermen, where he heard of the ruin of his plantation, and got a boat, and with a man or two came to see how things were; but by the way (for want of skill), in a storm, he cast away his boat in the bottom of the bay, between Merrimack and Piscataqua, and hardly escaped with life; and afterwards fell into the hands

[1] Here see the effects of pride and vainglory.—M.

of the Indians, who pillaged him of all that he had saved from the sea, and stripped him of all his clothes to his shirt. At last he got to Piscataqua, and borrowed a suit of clothes, and got means and came to Plimouth. A strange alteration there was in him, to such as had seen and known him in his former flourishing condition; so uncertain are all things of this uncertain world.

But to return to the state and condition of the planters at Plimouth, all this while no supply heard of, so they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could; so as they might not languish in misery as formerly they had done, and at the present they did, and it was thought the best way, and accordingly given way unto, that every one should plant corn for his own particular, and in that regard provide for themselves, and, in other respects, continue the general course and way as before; and so they ranged all their youth under some family, and set upon such a course, which had good success, for it made all hands very industrious, so as much corn was planted.

This course being settled, by that time all their corn was planted, all their victuals was spent, and they were only to rest on God's providence; many times at night not knowing where to have any thing to sustain nature the next day, and so (as one well observed) had need to pray that God would give them their daily bread, above all people in the world; yet they bear those wants with great patience and alacrity of spirit, and that for so long a time as the most part of two years. Which brings to mind what Peter Martyr writes in his magnifying of the Spaniards (in his first Decade, p. 208). "They (said he) led a miserable life for five days together, with parched grain of maize only, and that not to satiety;" and then concludes, that "such pains, such labours," he thought "none living, who is not a Spaniard, could have endured."

But alas! those men when they had maize (that is Indian corn) they thought it as good as a feast, and wanted, not only for five days together, but sometimes

for two or three months together, and neither had bread or any kind of corn.

Indeed, in another place in his second Decade, p. 94, he mentions how others of them were worse put to it, where they were fain to eat dogs, toads, and dead men, and so almost all of them died. From these extremities the Lord in his goodness preserved both their lives and healths; let his holy name have the praise. Yet let me here make use of his conclusion, which in some sort may be applied to this people, that "with their miseries they opened a way to those new lands; and after storms, with what ease, other men came to inhabit in them, in respect to the calamities these men suffered; so as they seemed to go to a bride feast, where all things are provided for them."

They having one boat left, and she none of the best, with a net which they bought, improved them for the taking of bass, which proved a good help to them, and when those failed they were fain all hands to go dig shell-fish out of the sands for their living; in the winter season groundnuts and fowl were the principal of their refreshing, until God sent more settled and suitable supplies, by his blessing upon their industry.[1]

At length they received some letters from the adventurers, which gave them intelligence of a ship set out to come hither unto Plimouth, named the *Paragon*. This ship was bought by Mr. John Pierce, and set out on his own charge, upon hopes of great matters; the passengers and goods, the company sent in her, he took in for freight, for which they agreed with him to be delivered here; this was he in whose name their first patent was taken, for this place where Plimouth is, by reason of acquaintance, and some alliance that some of their friends had with him, but his name was only

1 "We begin to set our corn, the setting season being good, till the latter end of May. But by the time our corn is planted, our victuals are spent; not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together; yet bear our wants with cheerfulness and rest on Providence."—Gov. Bradford's *MS.*

used in trust, but when he saw they were here hopefully seated, and by the success God gave them, had obtained favour of the council of New England, he goes and sues to the said council, for another patent of much larger extent, in their names, which was easily obtained, but he meant to keep it to himself, and to allow them what they pleased to hold of him as tenants, and sue to his courts as chief lord. But the Lord marvellously crossed him in his proceedings; for when the ship above named set out from the Thames, she sprang a leak by that time she got to the Downs, and also by reason of a chop that accidently befell one of her cables, it broke in a stress of wind while she there rode, and was in danger to have been driven on the sands, and thereupon was constrained to return back to London, and there arrived in fourteen days after, and was haled up into the dock, and an hundred pounds more bestowed on her to mend her leaks and bruises, which she received in the aforesaid storm; and when she was again fitted for the voyage, he pestered his ship, and takes in more passengers, and those some of them not very good, to help to bear his losses, and sets out the second time; and when he was half-way, or thereabouts, to New England, was forced back again by an extreme tempest, wherein the goodness and mercy of God appeared in their preservation, being one hundred and nine souls. This ship suffered the greatest extremity at sea, at her second setting forth, as is seldom the like heard of. It was about the middle of February that the storm began, and it continued for the most part of fourteen days, but for two or three days and nights together, in most violent extremity. At the beginning of the storm, their boat being above decks, was thrown overboard; they spent their mainmast, their roundhouse was beaten off with the storm, and all the upper works of their ship; he that stood to give direction for the guiding of her before the sea, was made fast, to prevent his washing overboard, and the seas did so overrake them, as that many times those upon the deck knew not whether they were within

board or without; and by her extreme leaking, being a very rotten ship, and the storm increasing, she was once very near foundering in the sea, so as they thought she would never rise again: notwithstanding the Lord was pleased of his great mercy to preserve them; and after great weather-beating and extraordinary danger, they arrived safe at Portsmouth in Hampshire, to the wonderment of all that beheld in what condition they were, and heard what they had endured.[1]

Upon the return of the said Mr. John Pierce for England (he being personally in this his ship in the so sad storm), the other merchant adventurers got him to assign over the grand patent to the company, which he had taken in his own name, and made quite void their former patent.

About the latter end of June, came in a ship[2] at Plimouth with Capt. Francis West, who had a commission to be admiral of New England, to restrain interlopers, and such fishing ships as came to fish and trade without license from the council of New England, for which they should pay a great sum of money; but he could do no good of them, for they were too strong for him, and he found the fishermen to be refractory, and their owners, upon complaint made to the Parliament, procured an order that fishing should be free. He told the governor of Plimouth that they spoke with a ship at sea, and were on board her, that was coming to the said plantation of Plimouth, in which were sundry passengers, and they marvelled she was not arrived, fearing some miscarriage; for they lost her in a storm that fell shortly after they had been on board; which relation filled them full of fears, yet mixed with hope. The master of the ship had two hogsheads of peas to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at nine pounds sterling an hogshead, and under eight he would not take, and yet would have beaver at an underrate; but

[1] This relation was made by Mr. William Pierce, the master of the said ship, and some passengers of good credit.—M.

[2] This was the ship called the *Paragon* aforesaid.

they told him they had lived so long without, and would do still, rather than give so unreasonably; so the said ship went from Plimouth to Virginia.

[1] It may not here be omitted, that notwithstanding all their great pains and industry, and the great hopes they had of a large crop, the Lord seemed to threaten them with more and sorer famine by a great drought, which continued from the third week in May, until the middle of July, without any rain, and with great heat of weather for the most part, insomuch that their corn began to wither away, although it was planted with fish, according to the usual manner in those times; yet at length it began to languish sore, and some of the drier grounds was parched like withered hay, part whereof was never recovered. Upon which they set apart a solemn day of humiliation, to seek the Lord by humble and fervent prayer in this great distress; [2] and he was pleased to give them a gracious and speedy answer, both to their own and the Indians' admiration, that lived amongst them; for all the morning and the greatest part of the day, it was clear weather, and very hot, and not a cloud nor any sign of rain to be seen, yet towards evening it began to be overcast, and shortly after to rain, with such sweet and gentle showers, as gave them cause of rejoicing and blessing God. It came without either wind or thunder, or any violence, and by degrees in that abundance, as that the earth was thoroughly wet and soaked therewith, which did so apparently revive and quicken the decayed corn and other fruits, as was wonderful, and made the Indians astonished to behold.[3] A little before the Lord sent this rain of liberalities upon his people, one of them having occasion to go to the house of the aforenamed

[1] The two following paragraphs were inserted by Morton as belonging to the previous year. (See note 2 on p. 53.)

[2] It is mentioned by Smith, that the religious exercises on this occasion, continued eight or nine hours.—*New England's Trials.*

[3] This is a specimen of their constant recognition of Divine Providence, of their faith and prayer; as also of God's readiness to hear and answer those who sincerely repair to him in time of need.

Hobamak, the Indian, he, the said Hobamak, said unto him, "I am much troubled for the English, for I am afraid they will lose all their corn by the drought, and so they will be all starved; as for the Indians, they can shift better than the English, for they can get fish to help themselves." But afterwards the same man having occasion to go again to his house, he said to him, "Now I see that the Englishman's God is a good God, for he hath heard you, and sent you rain, and that without storms and tempests and thunder, which usually we have with our rain, which breaks down our corn, but yours stands whole and good still; surely your God is a good God;" or with words to the like effect.[1]

And after this gracious return of prayers, in this so seasonable a blessing of the rain, the Lord sent them such seasonable showers, with interchange of warm weather, as (through his blessing) caused in its time a fruitful and liberal harvest, to their great comfort and rejoicing; for which mercy, in time convenient, they also solemnized a day of thanksgiving unto the Lord.

About fourteen days after came in the ship, called the *Ann*, whereof Mr. William Pierce was master. Two of the principal passengers that came in this ship were Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. George Morton; the former, namely, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, soon after his arrival met with some cross providences by burning of his house, whereby he was much impoverished and much discouraged, and returned the winter following for England; and afterwards the Lord was pleased to renew his estate, and he came again into New England, and proved a very profitable and beneficial instrument, both in church and commonwealth, being one of

[1] The person that made this relation is still surviving (1669), and a principal man in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth.—M.

John Alden must have been the person here intended. He was one of the signers of the original compact in 1620, being then about twenty-two years of age. He died at Duxbury, in 1687, eighteen years after the first publication of the *Memorial*, in the eighty-ninth year of his age; having been an assistant in the administration of every governor for sixty-seven years.—*Hist. Coll.*, ii. 6. Allen's *Biog. and Hist. Dict.*

the first beginners, and a good instrument to uphold the church and town of Scituate; and also served God and the jurisdiction of Plimouth in the place of magistracy, and retained his integrity in the profession of the ways of Christ unto old age; still surviving at the penning hereof.

The latter of the two forenamed, namely, Mr. George Morton, was a pious, gracious servant of God, and very faithful in whatsoever public employment he was betrusted withal, and an unfeigned well willer, and, according to his sphere and condition, a suitable promoter of the common good and growth of the plantation of New Plimouth; labouring to still the discontents that sometimes would arise amongst some spirits, by occasion of the difficulties of these new beginnings; but it pleased God to put a period to his days soon after his arrival in New England, not surviving a full year after his coming ashore. With much comfort and peace he fell asleep in the Lord, in the month of June, anno 1624.

About ten days after the arrival of the ship called the *Ann,* above named, there came in another small ship of about forty-four tons, named the *James,* Mr. Bridges being master thereof; which said ship the *Ann* had lost at sea by reason of foul weather; she was a fine new vessel, built to stay in the country. One of the principal passengers that came in her was Mr. John Jenny, who was a godly, though otherwise a plain man, yet singular for publicness of spirit, setting himself to seek and promote the common good of the plantation of New Plimouth; who spent not only his part of this ship (being part owner thereof) in the general concernment of the plantation, but also afterwards was always a leading man in promoting the general interest of this colony. He lived many years in New England, and fell asleep in the Lord, anno 1644. In the two ships last named, came over many other persons, besides those before recited, who proved of good use in their places.

These passengers, seeing the low and poor condition of those that were here before them, were much daunted and dismayed, and, according to their divers humours,

were diversely affected. Some wished themselves in England again; others fell on weeping, fancying their own misery in what they saw in others; other some pitying the distress they saw their friends had been long in, and still were under. In a word, all were full of sadness; only some of their old friends rejoiced to see them, and that it was no worse with them, for they could not expect it should be better, and now hoped they should enjoy better days together. And truly it was no marvel they should be thus affected, for they were in a very low condition, both in respect of food and clothing at that time.

To consider seriously how sadly the Scripture speaks of the famine in Jacob's time, when he said to his sons, go buy us food, that we may live and not die; and that the famine was great and heavy in the land, and yet they had great herds and store of cattle of sundry kinds, which, besides their flesh, must needs produce other useful benefits for food, and yet it was accounted a sore affliction. But the misery of the planters at Plimouth, at the first beginning, must needs be very great therefore, who not only wanted the staff of bread, but all the benefits of cattle, and had no Egypt to go to, but God fed them out of the sea for the most part; so wonderful is his powerful providence over his in all ages; for his mercy endureth for ever.

About the middle of September arrived Capt. Robert Gorges, in the bay of the Massachusetts, with sundry passengers and families, intended there to begin a plantation, and pitched upon that place, which Mr. Weston forenamed had forsaken. He had a commission from the council of New England to be general governor of the country; and they appointed, for his council and assistants, Capt. Francis West, the aforesaid admiral, Christopher Levet, Esq., and the governor of Plimouth for the time being. Also they gave him authority to choose such others as he should find fit. Also they gave, by their commission, full power to him and his assistants, or any three of them (whereof himself was always to be one), to do and execute what to them

should seem good, in all cases, capital, criminal, and civil; with divers other instructions; of which, and his commission, it pleased him to suffer the governor of Plimouth to take a copy.

He, meeting with the aforesaid Mr. Weston at Plimouth, called him before him and some other of the assistants, with the governor of Plimouth aforesaid, and charged him with the ill carriage of his men at the Massachusetts, by which means the peace of the country was disturbed, and himself and the people which he had brought over to plant in that bay, thereby much prejudiced. To which the said Weston easily answered, that what was done in that behalf, was done in his absence, and might have befallen any man. He left them sufficiently provided, and conceived they would have been well governed; and for any error committed he had sufficiently smarted.

Another particular was, an abuse done to his father, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to the state. The thing was this; he used him and others of the council of New England, to procure him a license for the transporting of many great pieces of ordnance for New England, pretending great fortification here in the country; for which when he had obtained, he sold them beyond sea for his private profit. At which the state was much offended, and his father suffered a shrewd check, and he had order to apprehend him.[1]

The said Weston excused it as well as he could, but could not wholly deny it; but after much speech about it, by the mediation of the governor of Plimouth, and some other friends, the said Capt. Gorges was inclined to gentleness (though he apprehended the abuse of his father deeply), which when the said Weston perceived, he grew the more presumptuous, and gave such cutting and provoking speeches, as made the said captain rise up in great indignation and distemper, vowing, that he

[1] The said Mr. Thomas Weston was a man of parts, and a merchant of good account in London. Some time after these passages, he went for England, and died in the city of Bristol; he proved but a staff of reed to the plantation of Plimouth.—M.

would either curb him, or send him home for England. At which the said Weston was daunted, and came privately to the governor of Plimouth, to know whether they would suffer him to send him for England? It was answered him, they could not hinder it; and much blamed him, that after they had pacified things, he should thus break out by his own folly and rashness, and bring trouble upon himself and others. He confessed it was his passion, and prayed the governor aforesaid to entreat for him, and procure a pacification for him if he could; the which at last he did obtain with much difficulty. So he was called again, and the said Capt. Gorges was content to take his own bond to be ready to make further answer, when either he or the lords of the council should send for him; and at last he took only his own word, and so there was a friendly parting on all hands.

Soon after this, the said Capt. Gorges took his leave and went to the Massachusetts by land, being very thankful for his kind entertainment. His ship stayed at Plimouth, and fitted for to go to Virginia, having some passengers to deliver there, and with her returned sundry of those from Plimouth, which came over on their particular account; some out of discontent and dislike of the country, and others by reason of fire that burnt their houses and all their provisions, so as they were necessitated thereunto.

[1] This fire was by some of the seamen, that were roystering in an house where it first began, making a great fire, the weather being cold, which broke out of the chimney into the thatch, and burnt three houses, and consumed all their goods and provisions. The house in which it began, was right against the storehouse at Plimouth, which they had much ado to save; in which was the common store of the provisions of the plantation, which had it been lost, the same had been overthrown; but through God's mercy it was saved by the diligence of the people, and the care of the governor and those about him. Some would have had the goods

[1] This was on the fifth of November, 1624.—M.

thrown out, but if they had, there would have been much lost by the rude company belonging to the two forenamed ships, which were almost all on shore at this time; but a trusty company were placed within, as well as such as were meanwhile employed in quenching the fire without, that if necessity required, they might have them all out with speed; for they suspected some malicious dealing, if not plain treachery; and whether it was only suspected or no, God knows; but this is certain, that when the tumult was greatest, there was a voice heard (but from whence it came is uncertain), that bade them look well about them, for all were not friends that were then about them.[1] And soon after, when the vehemency of the fire was over, smoke was seen to rise within a shed that was joined to the end of the aforesaid storehouse, which was wattled up with boughs, in the withered leaves whereof the fire being kindled; which some running to quench, found a long firebrand of about an ell long, lying under the wall on the inside, which could not come thither by casualty, but must be laid there by some hand, in the judgment of all that saw it. But God kept them from this danger, whatever might be intended.

But to return again, to speak something of the aforesaid Capt. Gorges, after he had been at the eastward, and expedited some occasions there, he and some that depended upon him returned for England, having scarcely saluted the country in his government, finding the state of things not to answer his quality and condition; his people dispersed themselves, some for England, others for Virginia, some few remained, and were helped with supplies from Plimouth. Amongst the rest the said captain brought over a minister with him, one Mr. Morrel, who returned for England about a year after him, he took ship at Plimouth, and had a certain power and authority of superintendency over other churches granted him, and instructions for that end; but he never showed it, or made any use of it, but only spoke of it to some of Plimouth, at his going away. This was

[1] A very remarkable preservation.—M.

in effect the end of the second plantation, in the forenamed place called Wesagusquaset.

There were also some scattering beginnings made in other places, as at Piscataqua, by Mr. David Thompson, and at Monhegin, and some other places, by sundry others.

1624.

The time of new election of officers being come, for this year at Plimouth, the number of their people being increased, and their troubles and occasions therewith; the governor desired them to change the persons, as well as renew the election, and also to add more assistants to the governor for help and counsel, and the better carrying on of public affairs, showing that it was necessary it should so be; for if it were an honour or benefit, it was fit that others should be made partakers of it; if it was a burden (as doubtless it was) it was but equal that others should help to bear it, and that this was the end of yearly elections.[1]

[1] January 1, 1624, Lord Sheffield grants a patent to Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow, and associates of Cape Ann, for the Plymouth Colonists. He empowers them to build a town, and, through permission from him, to enact laws for the colony.

January 24. Robert Cushman in London, sends word to Mr. Bradford, that the adventurers had sent a carpenter to build ships, a person to make salt, and a preacher. The preacher is John Lyford, whose coming was promoted by members of the company, who opposed the emigration of Robinson. He also remarks, "We have taken a patent for Cape Anne." Under this patent a colony was established at Cape Anne, in the spring of the year 1624, which is now expanded into the commonwealth of Massachusetts. It was dated January 1, 1623, O. S. The original was recently discovered, by J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., and will soon be published, edited by him. Under it Roger Conant was appointed governor. The mutations of the companies in England do not affect the historical identity of the colony, nor the chronological order of the incidents in its civil history, which may be considered independently of the authority under which they transpired, and merely with reference to its internal history. In this view the reader will readily trace the series of governors or rulers of the people, from Roger Conant, governor at Cape Anne, under the grant of Lord Sheffield, through John Endicott, the first governor under the Massachusetts Charter, and Winthrop, the second governor under this charter, and Sir William Phipps, Knight, the first governor under the third, or Provincial Charter of 1692.

The conclusion was, that whereas there was before but one assistant, they now chose five, giving the governor a double voice;[1] and afterwards they increased them to seven, which course hath continued in that colony until this day.[2]

In the month of March, in this year, Mr. Edward Winslow arrived at Plimouth, in New England, having been employed as an agent for that plantation, on sundry occasions, with the merchant adventurers in England, who brought a considerable supply with him, the ship being bound on a fishing voyage; and with him came Mr. John Lyford, a minister, which was sent over by some of the adventurers.

There came over likewise in this ship, three heifers and a bull, which were the first neat cattle that came into New England.

The aforesaid John Lyford, when he came first on shore, saluted them of the plantation of Plimouth with that reverence and humility, as is seldom to be seen; and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands, if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring the things they had done in their wants, as if he had been made all of love, and the humblest person in the world; but in the end proved more like those mentioned by the Psalmist, Psal. x. 10, that crouched and bowed, that heaps of the poor may fall by them; or like unto dissembling Ishmael, who when he had slain Gedaliah, went out weeping, Jer. xli. 6; and met those that were coming to offer incense in the house of the Lord, saying, come to Gedaliah, when he meant to slay them. They gave him the best entertainment they could, in all simplicity, and as their governor

1 Gov. Bradford's request was not granted; he was re-elected.

2 "This spring the people requesting the governor to have some land for continuance, and not by yearly lot as before; he gives every person an acre, to them and theirs, as near the town as can be; and no more till the seven years expire, that we may keep close together for greater defence and safety."—Bradford's *MS. Hist.*; Prince's *Chron.* 226.

had used, in all weighty affairs, to consult with their elder, Mr. Brewster, together with his assistants, so now he called Mr. Lyford also on such like occasions. After some short time, he desired to join himself a member to their church, and was accordingly received; he made a large confession of his faith, and an acknowledgment of his former disorderly walking, and his being entangled with many corruptions, which had been a burden to his conscience, and blessed God for this opportunity of freedom and liberty, with many such like expressions. In some short time he fell into acquaintance with Mr. John Oldham, who was a copartner with him in his after courses; not long after, both Oldham and he grew very perverse, and showed a spirit of great malignity, drawing as many into a faction as they could; were they never so vile and profane, they did nourish and abet them in all their doings, so they would but cleave to them, and speak against the church. So as there was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them, they feeding themselves and others with what they should bring to pass in England, by the faction of their friends there;[1] which brought others as well as themselves into a fool's paradise, yet they could not so carry closely, but both much of their doings and sayings were discovered, although outwardly they set a fair face on things.

At length when the ship he came in was ready to return for England, and it was observed that Lyford was long in writing, and sent many letters, and could not forbear to communicate to his intimates such things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done their errand sufficiently. The governor and some of his friends, knowing how things stood in reference to some known adversaries in England, and what hurt these things might do, took a boat, and went out with the ship a league or two, and called for all Lyford's and Oldham's letters. Mr. William Pierce being master of the ship, and knew well their evil dealings (both in

[1] That is, some of the adventurers, who proved in the issue adversaries to the plantation.—M.

England and here), afforded them all the assistance he could; he found about twenty of Lyford's letters, many of them large and full of slanders and false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but ruin and utter subversion. Most of them they let pass, only took copies of them, but some of the most material they sent true copies of them and kept the originals, lest he should deny them, and that they might produce his own hand against him. Amongst these letters they found the copies of two letters which were sent in a letter of his to Mr. John Pemberton, a minister, and a great opposite to the plantation; these two letters, of which he took copies, were one of them written by a gentleman in England, to Mr. Brewster here, the other by Mr. Winslow to Mr. Robinson in Holland; at his coming away, as the ship lay at Gravesend, they lying sealed in the great cabin, while Mr. Winslow was busy about the affairs of the ship, this sly merchant opens them, takes copies of them, and seals them up again, and not only seals the copies of them thus, To his friend and their adversary, but adds thereto in the margin many scurrilous and flouting annotations. In the evening the governor returned, and they were something blank at it; but after some weeks, when they heard nothing, were then as brisk as ever thinking nothing had been known, but all was gone current, and that the governor went out but to despatch his own letters.

The reason why the governor and the rest concealed these things, was to let things ripen, that they might the better discover their intents, and see who were their adherents; because, amongst the rest, they found a letter of one of their confederates, in which was written, that Mr. Oldham and Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in church and commonwealth, and as soon as the ship was gone they intended to join together and have the sacrament; a few of Oldham's letters were found in the aforesaid search, being so bad a scribe as his hand was scarce legible, yet he was as deep in the mischief as the other; and thinking they were now strong enough, they began to pick quarrels at every thing. Oldham being called to

watch (according to order), refuseth to come, fell out with the captain, called him rascal, and beggarly rascal, and resisted him, and drew his knife at him, though he offered him no wrong, nor gave him any ill terms, but with all fairness required him to do his duty; the governor hearing the tumult, sent to quiet it; but he ranted with great fury, and called them all traitors; but being committed to prison, after a while he came to himself, and with some slight punishment was let go upon his behaviour, for further censure. But to cut things short, at length it grew to this issue, that Lyford, with his accomplices, without either speaking one word either to the governor, church, or elder, withdrew themselves, and set up a public meeting apart on the Lord's day, with sundry such insolent carriages, too long here to relate, beginning more publicly to act that which they had been long plotting.

It was now thought high time, to prevent further mischief, to call them to account; so the governor called a court, and summoned the whole company together, and they charged Lyford and Oldham with such things as they were guilty of respecting the premises; but they were stiff, and stood resolutely upon the denial of most things, and required proof; they first alleged what was writ compared with their practices here; that it was evident they joined in plotting against them, and disturbed their peace in their civil and church state, which was most injurious, for both they and all the world knew they came hither to enjoy the liberty of their consciences in the free use of God's ordinances, and for that end had ventured their lives, and passed through much hardship hitherto, and they and their friends had borne the charge of these beginnings, which was not small, and that he, namely, Lyford, for his part, was sent over on this charge, and both he and his great family was maintained on the same; and for him to plot against them, and seek their ruin, was most unjust and perfidious.

But Lyford denied, and made strange of sundry things laid to his charge. Then his letters were produced, at which he was struck mute. Oldham began to

be furious, and to rage, because they had intercepted their letters, provoked the people to mutiny in such words as these; my masters, where are your hearts? Now show your courage; you have often complained to me so and so, now is the time, if you will do anything, I will stand by you, etc., thinking that every one knowing his humour that had fooled and flattered him, or otherwise, or that in their discontent uttered any thing unto him, would now side with him, in open rebellion; but he was deceived, for not a man opened his mouth, all were silent.

Then the governor took pains in convicting Lyford of his hypocrisy and treachery, in abusing his friends, in taking copies of their letters in an underhand way, and sending them abroad to their disgrace, etc., and produced them, and his own letters under his own hand, which he could not deny, and caused them to be read before all the people; at which all his confederates were blank, and had not a word to say.

But after a while, he began to say, that sundry had made some complaint unto him, and informed him of divers things, which being there present, and the particulars named to them, they denied.

Then they dealt with him about his dissembling in church, and that he professed to concur with them in all things, and what a large confession he had made at his admittance, and that he held not himself a minister, till he had a new calling, etc., and yet now he contested against them, and drew a company apart, and sequestered himself, and would go about to administer the sacraments by his former calling, without ever acquainting them with it. In conclusion he was fully convicted, and burst out into tears, and confessed, he feared he was a reprobate, his sins were so great that he doubted that God would not pardon them, he was unsavoury salt, etc., and that he had so wronged them, as he could never make them amends; confessing all he had written against them was false and naught, both for matter and manner; and all this he did with as much fulness as words and tears could express.

After their trial and conviction, the court sentenced them to be expelled the plantation; John Oldham presently to depart, though his wife and family had liberty to stay all the winter, or longer, until he could make provision to remove them comfortably.[1] Lyford had liberty to stay six months; it was with some eye to his release, if he carried himself well in the mean time, and that his repentance proved sound. Lyford acknowledged his censure was far less than he deserved, and afterwards he confessed his sin publicly in the church, with tears, more largely than before. I shall here relate it as I find it penned by some who took it from his own mouth as himself uttered it.

Acknowledging that he had done very evil, and slanderously abused them; and thinking most of the people would take part with him, he thought to have carried all by violence and strong hand against them; and that God might justly lay innocent blood to his charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come by these his writings, and blessed God that they were stayed; and that he spared not to take knowledge from any of any evil that was spoken, but shut his eyes and ears against all the good; and that if God should make him a vagabond in the earth, as was Cain, it was but just; and he confessed three things to be the cause of these his doings, pride, vainglory and self-love; amplifying these heads with many other expressions in the particulars of them, so as they began to conceive good thoughts of him, upon his repentance, and admitted him to teach amongst them as before; yea, sundry tender-hearted persons amongst them were so taken with his signs of sorrow and repentance, as they professed they would fall on their knees to have his censure remitted and released. But that which made them all stand amazed in the end (and may do all others who shall come to hear the same, for a rarer precedent can scarce be named), was, that after two months' time, all

1 "There was some friendly correspondence between the colony and Oldham, before his death."—*Marginal note in* Bradford's *record.*

his former confessions, convictions, and public acknowledgments, both in the presence of God and his church, and the whole company, with so many tears, and censures of himself, he should go again to justify what he had done; for secretly he wrote a second letter to the adventurers in England, in which he justified all his former writings, save in some things which tended to their damage.[1]

1625.

At the time of their election court, John Oldham came again amongst them; and though it was a part of his censure, for his former mutiny, not to return without leave first obtained, yet he presumed, without leave at all, to come, being set on and hardened by the ill counsel of others; and not only so, but suffered his unruly passion to run beyond the bounds and limits of all reason and modesty, insomuch that some strangers that were with him were ashamed of his outrages, and rebuked him, but all reproofs were but oil to the fire, and made the flame of his choler the greater. He called them all to naught in his fury, an hundred rebels and traitors; but in conclusion, they committed him until he was tamer, and then appointed a guard of musketeers, which he was to pass through, and everyone was ordered to give him a blow on his hinder parts, with the butt end of his musket, and then he was conveyed to the water-side, where a boat was ready to carry him away, with this farewell, Go and mend your manners.[2]

[1] The copy of this letter is extant, but too large to be here inserted.—M.

[2] "While this was doing, Mr. Winslow and Mr. William Pierce land from England, and bid them spare neither him (Oldham) nor Lyford, for they had played the villains with us; and their friends in England had the like bickerings with ours there about Lyford's calumnious letters, etc."

Mr. Winslow made so surprising a discovery of Lyford's carriage, when minister in Ireland, for which he had been forced to leave the kingdom, as struck all his friends mute, made them ashamed to

After the removal of his family he fell into some straits, and about a year after intended a voyage to Virginia; and so it pleased God that himself and sundry passengers being in the bark, they were in great danger, so as they despaired of life, and fell to prayer, and to examination of their hearts and consciences, and confessed such sins as most burdened them, and the said John Oldham did make a free and large confession of the wrongs he had done to the church and people at Plimouth, in many particulars; and that as he had sought their ruin, so God had now met with him, and might destroy him; yea, he feared that they all fared the worse for his sake: he prayed God to forgive him, and made vows, that if the Lord spared his life he would become otherwise. This was reported by some of good credit, not long since living in the Massachusetts Bay, that were themselves partners in the same danger, which was on the shoals of Cape Cod.

It pleased God to spare their lives, but they lost their voyage; and some time afterwards, the said Mr. John Oldham carried himself fairly towards them, and acknowledged the hand of God to be with them, and seemed to have an honourable respect of them; and so far made his peace with them, as he had liberty to go and come at his pleasure, and in some time after went on trading in a small vessel amongst the Indians, and being weakly manned, upon some quarrel betwixt them, they slew him with a hatchet; this death being one ground for the Pequot war, of which afterwards in its proper place.[1]

The time being expired that Mr. John Lyford's censure was to take place, he was so far from answering their hopes by amendment, as he had doubled his evil, as before mentioned. But first behold the hand of God concerning him, wherein that of the Psalmist is verified,

defend him, and he was condemned as unmeet to bear the ministry more.—Prince's *Chron.* 232.

[1] He was a man of parts, but high-spirited, and extremely passionate, which marred all in point of right improvement of them.—M.

Psal. vii. 15. He hath made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the pit that he made. He thought to bring shame and disgrace upon them, but instead of that opens his own to all the world; for his wife, who was a prudent, sober woman, taking notice of his false and deceitful carriage about the premises, in grief of mind expressed her fears, that God would bring upon him and family, some sad judgment for these and other of his wicked practices, and related that he had a bastard, by another woman, before marriage with her, which he denied to her with an oath, but it afterwards appeared to be so; and another miscarriage of the like nature, more odiously circumstanced, was also discovered, for which he was forced to leave Ireland, and so came New England to be troubled with him. Being banished hence, he went first to Nantasket, then to Salem, and after to Virginia, where he shortly after died.

I have been too tedious in my relating the plots of these Machiavelians: but to conclude, the reader may take notice, that God observed and brought to nought their wicked devices, was a defence to the innocent, and caught them in the snares they privily laid for them, punishing one sin by another, until he had accomplished the freedom of his Israel, by the overthrow of his and their enemies; for which his mercy, let his holy name be praised for evermore.

The storm was blown over, yet sundry sad effects followed, for the company of the merchant adventurers break in pieces hereupon, and the greatest part wholly deserted the colony, but yet God took care of it; for although sundry of them fell off and adventured no more towards the support thereof, but rather proved manifest adversaries thereunto than otherwise; and the rest partly because they were grown (some of them) low in their estates, and there being small hopes of returns to their expectations; although courteous in words and well wishes, yet afforded little or no help after this, so that the plantation was fain to stand on their own legs, being indeed marvellously supported by the Lord, for it

pleased him so to bless their endeavours, as that they raised great crops of Indian corn (about this time), so as they had enough and to spare, and began to have thoughts of improving part of it in a way of trading with the Indians, and having only two shallops and no bigger vessels, they laid a deck on one of them in the midships, to preserve the corn dry from weather, and so sent her laden with corn, to a place called Kennebeck, about fifty leagues off to the eastward;[1] and notwithstanding they were strangers to the way, and place of trade, and to the people, and having no seamen, and, at that season, being the latter end of the year and drawing on to winter; yet it pleased God to preserve them, and so to bless their endeavours, as that they returned in safety, and with good success, it being the first enterprise they achieved in this kind, at least so far, and it proved an inlet to a further trade, which was greatly beneficial to them afterwards.

And here I may not omit the observable dispensation of God's providence, respecting his dealing with the adventurers aforementioned, in reference unto two ships they sent unto these parts about that time, on a fishing voyage only upon their own account, having left the plantation to shift for themselves; one of these ships was a small one, namely, the *James*, forenamed, which was well laden with cod-fish, and in her a great quantity likewise of beaver and other furs,[2] which was sent by the plantation to the adventurers, and returned for England; the other ship was also laden with good dry fish, and she also returned with her; being thus well freighted, they went together lovingly and joyfully away, the greater ship towing the lesser at her stern all the way over bound, and had such fair weather as they never cast her off till they were shot deep into the English channel, almost within sight of Plimouth, and yet there she was unhappily taken by a Turkish man-of-war, and carried into Sallee, where the master and men

1 See Prince's *Chron.* for the time.

2 Eight hundredweight of beaver, with other furs, a good quantity.—M.

were made slaves, and many of the beaver skins were sold for fourpence apiece. Thus were all their hopes dashed in this respect, and the joyful news they went to carry home, turned into heavy tidings. Some thought this an hand of God for some unkindness showed to the plantation, by exaction upon them in reference to a parcel of goods they a little before had sent over to them on extreme rates; but God's judgments are unsearchable, neither ought we to be too bold therewith. But, however, it shows us the uncertainty of all human things, and what little cause there is in joying in them, or trusting to them.

In the bigger of these ships, Capt. Miles Standish went over as agent in the behalf of the plantation, in reference unto some particulars yet depending betwixt them and the adventurers; as also to the honourable council of New England; and notwithstanding some difficulty he met with in his occasions by reason of the pestilence which was then so hot in the city of London,[1] yet he accomplished his business so as he left things in a fair way for future composition, betwixt the said merchant adventurers and the plantation; and he spake also with some of the honourable council, aforenamed, who promised all helpfulness to the plantation, that lay in them. About this time it pleased the Lord likewise to give peace, health, and good success on their endeavours, his holy name be praised.

1626

About the beginning of April, they heard of Capt. Standish's arrival, and sent a boat to fetch him home; welcome he was, but the news he brought was sad in many regards, not only in regard to the aforementioned losses which their friends had, and some of them dead of

1 "From December 22, 1624, to December 23, 1625, there die of the plague in London and Westminster, forty-one thousand, three hundred and thirteen."—Prince's *Chron.*

the plague, but also that Mr. John Robinson, their pastor was dead, which struck them with much sorrow and sadness, as they had great cause; his and their adversaries had been long and continually plotting how they might hinder his coming into New England,[1] but now the Lord had appointed him to a greater journey, at less charge, to a better place.

But before I pass things concerning this worthy servant of Christ, Mr. John Robinson, I shall here insert the honourable testimony that Mr. William Bradford, senior, hath left behind him, concerning him, being greatly acquainted with his worth and excellency.

Saith he, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock and his flock to him, that it might be said of them, as it was once said of that famous Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and the people of Rome, That it was hard to judge whether

1 Hutchinson, ii. 454, says that "he was prevented by disappointments from those in England who undertook to provide for the passage of him and his congregation." It appears that "Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others were at this time determined that New England should be settled under Episcopacy; and though they would allow and encourage the people to settle here, they were unwilling that any Puritan ministers should accompany them. The bishops had prevented the crown from granting liberty to the petitions from Leyden; and it was accounted a great matter in 1621, to obtain a cautious allowance of indulgence under the authority of the president and council for the affairs of New England. But they took care to obstruct the coming over of so important a man as Mr. Robinson, a great man, and father of the Independents."

Mr. Robinson's own judgment in the case is thus expressed, in a letter to Elder Brewster, dated at Leyden, December 20, 1623. After speaking of the adventurers and classifying them, he says in relation to the body of them, "I persuade myself that for me they of all others are unwilling I should be transported, especially such as have an eye that way themselves, . . . and for those adversaries, if they have but half their will to their malice, they will stop my course, when they see it intended." Sherley, who was one of the adventurers, incurred the ill-will of his associates by favouring the removal. "The sole cause," he observed in a letter to the Plymouth people in 1627, "why the greater part of the adventurers malign me, was, that I would not side with them against you and the coming over of the Leyden people."

he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor.[1] But to return.

[1] Mr. John Robinson died at Leyden, on the 1st of March, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age. It is but the truth to say that many tens of thousands of Christian men hold his name in honourable remembrance. He yet lives, by his example, and by the influence of his sacrifices and toils; and in the third century after his death, he enjoys the singular distinction of being equally honoured in the east and the west—in two countries separated by a mighty ocean.

It was four or five years after the death of Mr. Robinson, before provision could be made for the removal of his wife and children to Plymouth. In 1629, thirty-five families were transported from Leyden to New England, at the heavy expense of £500, paid by the brethren in the colony. Another company came over the next year, at a still greater expense. In one of these companies were the wife and children of Mr. Robinson.

We have the names of but two of his children, John and Isaac. John settled at, or near Cape Ann, Isaac settled near Plymouth, at Scituate, where he was a freeman in 1633. He removed in 1639 to Barnstable. The descendants of Robinson are numerous, scattered over New England and other States of the Union, and in various respectable and useful stations in life. (See life of Robinson, prefixed to his works.)

ROGER WHITE TO GOVERNOR BRADFORD.

To his loving friend, Mr. William Bradford, governor of Plimouth, in New England, these be, etc.

LOVING AND KIND FRIENDS, ETC.,

I know not whether ever this will come to your hands, or miscarry, as other of my letters have done; yet, in regard of the Lord's dealing with us here, I have had a great desire to write unto you, knowing your desire to bear a part with us, both in our joys and sorrows, as we do with you.

These, therefore, are to give you to understand, that it hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears, your and our loving and faithful pastor, and my dear and reverend brother, Mr. John Robinson, who was sick some eight days, beginning first to be sick on a Saturday morning; yet the next day, being the Lord's day, he taught us twice, and the week after grew every day weaker than other, yet felt no pain but weakness, all the time of his sickness. The physic he took wrought kindly, in man's judgment, yet he grew every day weaker than other, feeling little or no pain, yet sensible to the very last. He fell sick the 22nd of February, and departed this life on the 1st of March. He had a continual inward ague, but, I thank the Lord, was free of the plague, so that all his friends could come freely to him; and if either prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life, he had

Capt. Standish likewise brought the sad news of the death of Mr. Robert Cushman, their ancient friend, whom the Lord took away also, this year, about the same time, who was as their right hand with their friends the adventurers, and for divers years had done and agitated all their business with them, to their great advantage, of whom, occasionally, there hath been honourable mention formerly made in this book.[1]

not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his course, and performed his work which the Lord had appointed him here to perform; he now rests with the Lord, in eternal happiness; we wanting him, and all church governors, not having one at present that is a governing officer among us. Now for ourselves here left (I mean the whole church), we still, by the mercy of God, continue and hold close again together in peace and quietness, and so I hope we shall do, though we be very weak; wishing (if such were the will of God) that you and we were again together in one, either there or here; but seeing it is the will of the Lord, thus to dispose of things, we must labour with patience to rest contented till it please the Lord otherwise to dispose of things.

For news at present here, is not much worth the writing; only as in England we have lost our old king James, who departed this life about a month ago, so here we have lost Grave Maurice, the old prince here, who both departed this life since my brother Robinson; and as in England we have a new king, Charles, of whom there is great hope of good, so here likewise we have made Prince Hendrick, general, in his brother's place, who is now with the Grave of Mansfield with a great army, close by the enemy, to free Breda, if it be possible, which the enemy hath besieged now some nine or ten months; but how it will fall out at last, is yet uncertain. The Lord give good success, if it be his will. The king is making ready about one hundred sail of ships; the end is not yet certain, but they will be ready to go to sea very shortly. The king himself goes to see them once in fourteen days. And thus fearing lest this will not come to your hands, hoping as soon as I hear of a convenient messenger, to write more at large, and to send you a letter which my brother Robinson sent to London, to have gone to some of you, but coming too late, was brought back again. And so for this time I cease further to trouble you and rest

Your assured loving friend,

ROGER WHITE.

Leyden, April 28, 1625.

[1] In Gov. Bradford's letter book is a letter from four of the adventurers to the "General Society of Plymouth," written 18th December, 1624, probably by Mr. Cushman, which gives much insight into their affairs, especially relative to their connection

About this time they received divers letters from their friends at Leyden, in Holland, full of sad lamentation for their heavy loss by the death of their pastor, Mr. Robinson, above named; and although their wills were good to come over to their brethren in New England, yet they saw no probability of means how it might be effected, but concluded, as it were, that all their hopes were cut off, and many, being aged, began to drop away by death. All which things before related, being well weighed and laid together, it could not but strike them with great perplexity, and to look humanly on the state of things, as they presented themselves at this time, it is a marvel it did not wholly discourage and sink them, but they gathered up their spirits, and the Lord so helped them, whose work they had in hand, as now, when they were very low, they began to rise again; and being stripped in a manner, of all human helps and hopes, he brought things about otherwise in his divine providence, so as they were not only upheld and sustained, but their proceedings both honoured and imitated by others, as by the sequel will appear.[1]

1627.

This year they sent Mr. Isaac Allerton for England, and gave him orders to make a composition with the adventurers, in reference unto some particulars betwixt the plantation and them, which Capt. Standish had begun, as is before hinted, and at the ordinary season of the year, for the expectation of the ships, he returned with some success in the business he was employed.

Likewise this year they began to make some distribution of lands, having had hitherto but to every person one acre allowed him, as to propriety, besides their

with the adventurers, and evidences the good sense and excellent spirit of the writer.

Descendants of Cushman are numerous in Plympton, Duxbury, and Middleborough.

[1] See Prince's *Chron.* for further particulars.

homesteads, or garden plots, the reason was that they might keep together, both for more safety and defence, and the better improvement of the general employments; which condition of theirs brings to mind that which may be read in Pliny, Lib. 18, chap. 2, of the Roman's first beginnings in Romulus's time, how every man contented himself with two acres of land, and had no more assigned them; and, chap. 3, it was thought a great reward to receive, at the hands of the people of Rome, a pint of corn; and long after, the greatest present given to a captain, that had got a victory over their enemies, was as much ground as he could till in one day; and he was not accounted a good, but a dangerous man, that would not content himself with seven acres of land; as also how they did pound their corn in mortars, as these people were forced to do, many years before they could get a mill.

Notwithstanding, as aforesaid, so small a portion of land served them at the first, yet afterwards for divers reasons moving thereunto, they were necessitated to lay out some larger proportions to each person; yet resolving to keep such a mean in distribution of lands, as should not hinder their growth by others coming to them, and therefore accordingly allotted to every one in each family, twenty acres, to be laid out five acres in breath, by the water-side, and four acres in length.

I may not omit the inserting of a particular, that fell out this year, in reference unto a ship with many passengers in her, and some considerable goods, which was bound for Virginia, who had lost themselves at sea, either by the insufficiency of the master, or his illness, for he was sick and lame of the scurvy, so as he could but lie in the cabin door, and give direction, and, it should seem, was badly assisted either with mate or mariners, or else the fear of, and the unruliness of the passengers was such, as they made them steer a course between the south-west and north-west, that they might fall in with some land; whatever it was they cared not, for they had been six weeks at sea, and had no beer nor water, nor wood left, but had burnt up all their empty

casks, only one of the company had a hogshead of wine or two, which was also almost spent, so as they feared they should be starved at sea, or consumed with diseases, which made them run this desperate course. But it pleased God, that although they came so near the shoals of Cape Cod, or else ran stumbling over them in the night, they knew not how, they came before a small harbour, that lieth about the middle of Mannamoiet Bay, to the southward of Cape Cod, and with a small gale of wind, and about high water, touched upon a bar of sand that lieth before it, but had no hurt, the sea being smooth; so they laid out an anchor; but towards evening the wind sprang up at sea, and was so rough as they brake their cable, and beat them over the bar into the harbour, where they saved their lives and goods; for, although with much beating they had sprung a butt end of a plank, yet they soon got over, and ran upon a dry flat within the harbour, close to a beach, and at low water got out their goods, and were not a little glad that they had saved their lives. But when they had refreshed themselves, not knowing where they were, nor what to do, were much troubled, but soon after some Indians came towards them in canoes, which made them stand upon their guard, but when they heard some of them speak English, they were not a little revived; especially when they heard them ask, whether they were not the governor of Plimouth's men, or friends, and that they would bring them to the English houses, or carry their letters; and when they had feasted these Indians, and given them many gifts, they sent two men, and a letter with them to the governor of Plimouth, by which he had intelligence of their condition, and took order for their supply; they hoping, by mending of their ship, to recover her to go to sea again, and accordingly did mend her; but afterwards having but bad mooring, was put on shore again, and suffered so much shipwreck as she never got off more, but all the company were forced to repair to Plimouth, where they continued the best part of the year, being courteously entertained, and so were dispersed; the greater part of them went to

Virginia, and some remained in the country. The chief amongst them were Mr. Fells, Mr. Sibsey, and the master's name was Johnston, a Scotchman.

This year the plantation of Plimouth received messages from the Dutch plantation, sent unto them from the governor there, written both in Dutch and French. The sum of the letters forementioned were, to congratulate the English here, taking notice of much that might engage them to a friendly correspondency and good neighbourhood, as the propinquity of their native country, their long continued friendship, etc., and desires to fall into a way of some commerce and trade with them.[1]

To which the governor and council of Plimouth returned answerable courteous acceptance of their loving propositions, respecting their good neighbourhood in general, and particularly for commerce. And accordingly the Dutch, not long after, sent their secretary, Mr. Isaac de Rosier, with letters and goods, who laid the foundation of a trade that continued between them many years after, to their mutual benefit. They also brought the English acquainted with the trading of Wampampeag,[2] until then little known to us, nor esteemed by us, but was after of good valuation and profitable. Although for the space of twenty years, it was of great esteem among the natives in divers parts of the country, so as it made the Indians, in these parts,

1 The Dutch had trading in those southern parts divers years before the English came, but they began no plantation until after the English came and were here seated.—M.

2 *Wampampeag.* The Indians are ignorant of Europe's coin, yet they give a name to ours and call it *moneash.* Their own is of two sorts, one white, which they make of the stem or stock of the periwinkle when the shell is broken off; of this sort are their small beads which they make with holes to string the bracelets, and are current with the English for a penny. The other is black, which is made of the shell of a fish, and of this sort three pass for a penny. One fathom of their stringed money is worth five shillings. The white money they call wampum, the black suchawhock. The black fathom is two fathom white. They hang strings of their money about their necks, and curiously make girdles of it.—Williams's *Key, Hist. Coll.,* iii. 231.

rich, proud and powerful; yet until they had store of it, they could not attain English ammunition, but were fain to improve their own artillery of bows and arrows; but when they learned to make store of wampum, they furnished themselves with guns, powder, and shot, which no laws can restrain, by reason of the baseness of sundry unworthy persons, both English, Dutch, and French, which may turn to the ruin of many; for hitherto the Indians of these parts had no pieces, nor other arms but their bows and arrows and clubs, nor in many years after; neither durst they scarce handle a gun; though out of kelter, it was a terror to them; but those Indians to the eastern parts, which had commerce with the French, got pieces of them, and they in the end made a common trade of it, and in time our English fishermen, led with the like covetousness, followed their example for their own gain; but upon complaint against them, it pleased the king's majesty to prohibit the same by a strict proclamation, commanding that no sort of arms or ammunition should by any of his subjects be traded with them.

1628.

This year died Mr. Richard Warren, who hath been mentioned before in this book, and was an useful instrument; and during his life bore a deep share in the difficulties and troubles of the first settlement of the plantation of New Plimouth.[1]

Whereas about three years before this time there came over one Capt. Wollaston,[2] a man of considerable parts, and with him three or four more of some emin-

[1] The widow of Richard Warren died in 1673, aged 90. They had seven children, two sons and five daughters. The late Hon. James Warren, of Plymouth, was a descendant from Richard Warren.

[2] This gentleman's name is here occasionally used, and although he came over in the year 1625, yet these passages in reference to Morton fell out about this year, and therefore referred to this place.—M

ency, who brought with them a great many servants, with provisions and other requisites for to begin a plantation, and pitched themselves in a place within the Massachusetts Bay, which they called afterwards by their captain's name, Mount Wollaston; which place is since called by the name of Braintree. And amongst others that came with him, there was one Mr. Thomas Morton, who should seem had some small adventure of his own or other men's amongst them, but had little respect, and was slighted by the meanest servants they kept. They having continued some time in New England, and not finding things to answer their expectation, nor profit to arise as they looked for, the said Capt. Wollaston takes a great part of the servants, and transports them to Virginia, and disposed of them there, and writes back to one Mr. Rasdale, of his chief partners, and accounted their merchant, to bring another part of them to Virginia likewise, intending to put them off there, as he had done the rest; and he with consent of the said Rasdale, appointed one whose name was Filcher to be his lieutenant, and to govern the remainder of the plantation, until he or Rasdale should take further order thereabout.

But the aforesaid Morton, having more craft than honesty, having been a pettifogger at Furnival's Inn, he in the other's absence, watches an opportunity, commons being but hard among them, and got some strong drink, and other junkets, and made them a feast, and after they were merry, he began to tell them he would give them good counsel; you see, said he, that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia, and if you stay still until Rasdale's return, you will also be carried away and sold for slaves with the rest; therefore I would advise you to thrust out this Lieut. Filcher, and I, having a part in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociates, so may you be free from service, and we will converse, plant, trade, and live together as equals, or to the like effect. This counsel was easily followed, so they took opportunity and thrust Lieut. Filcher out of doors, and would not suffer him to come any more

amongst them, but forced him to seek bread to eat and other necessaries, amongst his neighbours, till he could get a passage for England.[1]

After this they fell to great licentiousness of life, in all profaneness, and the said Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained, as it were, a school of Atheism, and after they had got some goods into their hands, and got much by trading with the Indians, they spent it as vainly in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong liquors in great excess, as some have reported, ten pounds' worth, in a morning, setting up a may-pole, drinking and dancing about it, and frisking about it like so many fairies, or furies rather, yea, and worse practices, as if they had anew revived and celebrated the feast of the Roman goddess, Flora, or the beastly practices of the mad Bacchanalians. The said Morton, likewise, to show his poetry, composed sundry rhymes and verses, some tending to lasciviousness, and others to the detraction and scandal of some persons' names, which he affixed to his idle or idol may-pole; they changed also the name of their place, and instead of calling it Mount Wollaston, they called it the Merry Mount, as if this jollity would have lasted always. But this continued not long, for shortly after that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Endicot, who brought over a patent under the broad seal of England, for the government of the Massachusetts, visiting these parts, caused that may-pole to be cut down, and rebuked them for their profaneness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better; so the name was again changed, and called Mount Dagon.

Now to maintain this riotous prodigality and profuse expense, the said Morton thinking himself lawless, and hearing what gain the fishermen made of trading of pieces, powder, and shot; he, as head of his consortship, began the practice of the same in these parts; and first he taught the Indians how to use them, to charge and discharge them, and what proportion of powder to give the piece, according to the size or bigness of the

[1] See the sad effects of the want of good government.—M.

same, and what shot to use for fowl, and what for deer; and having instructed them, he employed some of them to hunt and fowl for him; so as they became somewhat more active in this employment than any of the English, by reason of their swiftness of foot, and nimbleness of body, being also quicksighted, and by continual exercise, well knowing the haunts of all sorts of game; so as when they saw the execution that a piece would do, and the benefit that might come by the same, they became very eager after them, and would not stick to give any price they could attain to for them; accounting their bows and arrows but baubles in comparison of them.

And here we may take occasion to bewail the mischief which came by this wicked man, and others like unto him; in that, notwithstanding all laws for the restraint of selling ammunition to the natives, that so far base covetousness prevailed, and doth still prevail, as that the savages become amply furnished with guns, powder, shot, rapiers, pistols, and also well skilled in repairing of defective arms; yea some have not spared to tell them how gunpowder is made, and all the materials in it, and that they are to be had in their own land, and would, no doubt, in case they could attain to making of saltpetre, teach them to make powder; and what mischief may fall out to the English in those parts thereby, let this pestilent fellow Morton, aforenamed, bear a greater part of the blame and guilt of it to future generations. But lest I should hold the reader too long in the relation of the particulars of his vile actings, when as the English that then lived up and down about the Massachusetts, and in other places, perceiving the sad consequences of his trading, so as the Indians became furnished with the English arms and ammunition, and expert in the improving of them, and fearing they should, at one time or another, get a blow thereby; also, taking notice that if he were left alone in his way, they should keep no servants for him, because he would entertain any, how vile soever; sundry of the chief of the straggling plantations met together, and agreed, by

mutual consent, to send to Plimouth, who were then of more strength to join with them, to suppress this mischief; who, considering the particulars, proposed to them to join together to take some speedy course to prevent, if it might be, the evil that was accruing towards them; and resolved, first, to admonish him of his wickedness respecting the premises, laying before him the injury he did to their common safety, and that his acting concerning the same was against the king's proclamation; but he insolently persisted on in his way, and said the king was dead, and his displeasure with him, and threatened them that if they came to molest him, they should look to themselves; so they that saw there was no way but to take him by force; so they resolved to proceed in such a way, and obtained of the governor of Plimouth, to send Capt. Standish, and some other aid with him, to take the said Morton by force, the which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stiffly on his defence, having made fast his doors, armed his consorts, set powder and shot ready upon the table, scoffed and scorned at them, and he and his accomplices being filled with strong drink, were desperate in their way; but he himself coming out of doors to make a shot at Capt. Standish, he stepping to him, put by his piece and took him, and so little hurt was done; and so he was brought prisoner to Plimouth, and continued in durance, till an opportunity of sending him for England, which was done at their common charge, and letters also with him, to the honourable council for New England, and returned again into the country in some short time, with less punishment than his demerits deserved, as was apprehended.

The year following he was again apprehended, and sent for England, where he lay a considerable time in Exeter gaol; for, besides his miscarriage here in New England, he was suspected of having murdered a man that had ventured moneys with him when he first came into New England; and a warrant was sent over by the lord chief-justice to apprehend him; by virtue whereof he was, by the governor of the Massachusetts, sent

into England, and for other of his misdemeanours amongst them in that government, they demolished his house, that it might no longer be a roost for such unclean birds. Notwithstanding he got free in England again, and wrote an infamous and scurrilous book against many godly and chief men of the country, full of lies and slanders, and full fraught with profane calumnies against their names and persons, and the ways of God. But to the intent I may not trouble the reader any more with mentioning of him in this history; in fine, sundry years after he came again into the country, and was imprisoned at Boston, for the aforesaid book and other things, but denied several things therein, affirming his book was adulterated. And soon after being grown old in wickedness, at last ended his life at Piscataqua. But I fear I have held the reader too long about so unworthy a person, but hope it may be useful to take notice how wickedness was beginning, and would have further proceeded, had it not been prevented timely.

1629.

This year sundry ships came out of England, and arrived at Neumkeak,[1] where Mr. John Endicot had

1 Now called Salem.—M.

"August, 1629. Thirty-five of our friends, with their families, from Leyden, arrived at Plimouth. They shipped at London in May, with the ships that came to Salem, which bring over many pious persons to begin the churches there. So that their being long kept back is now recompensed by heaven with a double blessing; in that we not only enjoy them beyond our expectation, when all hope seemed to be cut off, but with them many more godly friends, as the beginning of a larger harvest for Christ, in the increase of his people and churches in these parts of the earth, to the admiration of many, and almost the wonder of the world. The charge is reckoned on the several families; some fifty pounds, some forty, some thirty, as their number and expenses were; which our undertakers pay for gratis, besides giving them houses, preparing them grounds to plant on and maintain them with corn, etc., above thirteen or fourteen months, before they have a harvest of their own production."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 265.

chief command;[1] and by infection that grew among the passengers at sea, it spread also among them on shore, of which many died, some of the scurvy, and others of infectious fevers. Mr. Endicot understanding that there was one at Plimouth that had skill in such diseases, sent thither for him; at whose request he was sent unto them. And afterwards acquaintance and Christian love and correspondency came on betwixt the said governor and the said Endicot; which was furthered by congratulatory letters that passed betwixt each other; one whereof, because it shows the beginning of their Christian fellowship, I shall here insert.

The copy of a letter from Mr. Endicot to Mr. Bradford, as followeth:

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR,

It is a thing not usual, that servants to one master, and of the same household, should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not; nay, to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you. God's people are all marked with one and the same mark, and have, for the main, one and the same heart, guided by one and the same spirit of truth; and where this is, there can be no discord; nay, here must needs be a sweet harmony; and the same request, with you, I make unto the Lord, that we may, as Christian brethren, be united by an heavenly and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on Him that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us, and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship; it is, as far as

[1] Mr. Endicot, with a small company, was sent to carry on a small plantation at Naumkeak. He sailed from England, June 20, and arrived at Naumkeak, in August, 1628. Mr. Conant had before removed thither, from Cape Ann. The next year, 1629, five ships came. Mr. Higginson arrived in June.

I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me, being far from the common report that hath been spread of you, touching that particular; but God's children must not look for less here below; and it is a great mercy of God that he strengthened them to go through with it. I shall not need, at this time, to enlarge unto you, for (God willing) I purpose to see your face shortly; in the mean time, I humbly take my leave of you, committing you to the Lord's blessing and protection, and rest your assured loving friend,

JOHN ENDICOT.[1]

Neumkeak, May 11, 1629.

[1] Shortly after writing this letter, came these people before mentioned, and quickly grew into church order, and set themselves to walk in all the ways of God, as will appear by the following narrative, and the letter from Mr. Gott, which we here insert.

To the worshipful, his worthy and much respected friend, Mr. Bradford, Governor of Plymouth, these:

MOST WORTHY AND MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND, MR. BRADFORD;

I, with my wife, remember our service unto you and yours, thanking you most humbly for your great kindness, when we were at Plimouth with you: Sir, I make bold to trouble you with a few lines, for to certify you, how it hath pleased God to deal with us, since you heard from us; how, notwithstanding all opposition, that hath been here and elsewhere, it hath pleased God to lay a foundation, the which I hope is agreeable to his word, in every thing. The 20th of July, it pleased God to move the heart of our governor, to set it apart for a solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher; the former part of the day being spent in praise and teaching; the latter part was spent about the election, which was after this manner; the persons thought on (who had been ministers in England) were demanded concerning their callings; they acknowledged there was a twofold calling, the one an inward calling, when the Lord moved the heart of man to take that calling upon him, and fitted him with gifts for the same; the second (the outward calling) was from the people, when a company of believers are joined together in covenant, to walk together in all the ways of God, every member (being men) are to have a free voice in the choice of their officers, etc. Now, we being persuaded that these two were so qualified as the apostle speaks of to Timothy, where he saith a bishop must be blameless,

In the three ships that came over this year to Salem, in the month of June, besides many godly Christians, there came over three ministers, two of them, Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, were non-conformists, who, having suffered much in their native land upon that account, they came over with a professed intention of practising church reformation; the third minister, Mr. Bright, was a conformist, who, not agreeing in judgment with the other two, removed to Charlestown, where also, not agreeing with those godly Christians there, that were for reformation, after one year's stay in the country, he returned for England: but Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, in pursuance of the ends of their coming over into this wilderness, acquainted the governor, Mr. Endicot, and the rest of the godly people whom they found inhabitants of the place, and the chief

sober, apt to teach, etc., I think I may say as the eunuch said unto Philip, what should let him from being baptized, seeing there was water, and he believed; so these two servants of God clearing all things by their answers (and being thus fitted), we saw no reason but that we might freely give our voices for their election after this trial. Their choice was after this manner, every fit member wrote, in a note, his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise, whom they would have for teacher; so the most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor, and Mr. Higginson to be teacher; and they accepting the choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done, then there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson. Then there was proceeding in election of elders and deacons, but they were only named, and laying on of hands deferred, to see if it pleased God to send us more able men over; but since Thursday (being, as I take it, the 5th of August) is appointed for another solemn day of humiliation for the full choice of elders and deacons, and ordaining them; now, good sir, I hope that you and the rest of God's people (who are acquainted with the ways of God) with you, will say that here was a right foundation laid, and that these two blessed servants of the Lord came in at the door, and not at the window. And thus I have made bold to trouble you with these few lines, desiring you to remember us to Mr. Brewster, Mr. Smith, Mr. Fuller, and the rest of the church; so I rest, at your service in what I may till death,

CHARLES GOTT.

Salem, July 30, anno 1629.

of the passengers that came over with them, with their professed intentions, and consulted with them about settling a reformed congregation; from whom they found a general and hearty concurrence, so that, after some conference together about this matter, they pitched upon the 6th of August for their entering into a solemn covenant with God and one another, and also for the ordaining of their ministers; of which they gave notice to the church of Plimouth, that being the only church that was in the country before them. The people made choice of Mr. Skelton for their pastor, and Mr. Higginson for their teacher.[1] And accord-

[1] April 8.—At another meeting of the Massachusetts Company in London, Mr. Francis Higginson, Mr. Samuel Skelton, another non-conformist minister of Lincolnshire, and Mr. Francis Bright, entertained by said company, as ministers for the plantation, to labour both among the English and Indians. Mr. Higginson, having eight children, is to have ten pounds a year more than the others; Mr. Ralph Smith, a minister, is also to be accommodated in his passage thither.

April 16.—Sixty women and maids, twenty-six children, and three hundred men, with victuals, arms, apparel, tools, and one hundred and forty head of cattle, etc., in the lord-treasurer's warrant (to go to New England).

It is interesting to notice with what care they provided for the ministry. The following is a true note of the allowance that the New England Company gave by common consent and order of their court and council, granted unto Mr. Francis Higginson, minister, for his maintenance in New England, April 8, 1629.

1. IMPRIMIS, that £30 in money shall be forthwith paid him by the companye's treasurer towards the chardges of fitting himself with apparell and other necessaryes for his voyage.

2. Item, that £10 more shall be paid over by the said treasurer, towards the providing of books for present use.

3. Item, that he shall have £30 yearly paid him for three years, to beginne from the tyme of his first arrival in New England; and so to be accounted and paid him at the end of every yeare.

4. Item, that during the said tyme the company shall provide for him and his family necessaryes of diett, housing, and firewood; and shall be att charges of transporting him into New England. And at the end of the said three years, if he shall not like to continue there any longer, to be at the charge of transporting him back for England.

5. Item, that in convenient tyme an house shall be built, and certayne lands allotted thereunto, which during his stay in the country and continuance in the ministry, shall bee for his use;

ingly it was desired of Mr. Higginson to draw up a confession of faith and covenant in scripture language; which being done, was agreed upon. And because they foresaw that this wilderness might be looked upon as a place of liberty, and therefore might in time be troubled with erroneous spirits, therefore they did put in one article into the confession of faith, on purpose, about the duty and power of the magistrate in matters of religion. Thirty copies of the aforesaid confession of faith and covenant being written out for the use of thirty persons, who were to begin the work.

When the 6th of August came, it was kept as a day of fasting and prayer, in which, after the sermons and prayers of the two ministers, in the end of the day, the aforesaid confession of faith and covenant being solemnly read, the forenamed persons did solemnly profess their consent thereunto; and then proceeded to the ordaining of Mr. Skelton pastor, and Mr. Higginson teacher of the church there. Mr. Bradford, the governor of Plimouth, and some others with him, coming by sea, were hindered by cross winds, that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, but they came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the right-hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed

and after his death, or removal, the same to be for succeeding ministers.

6. Item, at the expiration of the said three years an hundred acres of land shall be assigned to him and his heirs for ever.

7. Item, that in case he shall depart this life in that country, the said company shall take care for his widow during her widowhood and aboade in that country and plantation, and the like for his children while they remain upon the said plantation.

8. Item, that the milk of two kyne shall be appointed towards the chardges of diett for him and his familye as aforesaid, and half the increase of calves during the said three years: But the said two kyne, and the other half of the increase to return to the company at the end of the said three years.

9. Item, that he shall have liberty of carrying over bedding, linen, brass, iron, pewter, of his owne, for his necessary use during the said tyme.

10. Item, that if he continue seven years upon the said plantation, that then one hundred acres of land more shall be allotted him for him and his for ever.

success unto such good beginnings. After which, at several times, many others joined to the church in the same way. The confession of faith and covenant, forementioned, was acknowledged only as a direction, pointing unto that faith and covenant contained in the Holy Scripture, and therefore no man was confined unto that form of words, but only to the substance, end, and scope of the matter contained therein. And for the circumstantial manner of joining to the church, it was ordered according to the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders, together with the liberty and ability of any person.

Hence it was, that some were admitted by expressing their consent to that written confession of faith and covenant; others did answer to questions about the principles of religion that were publicly propounded to them; some did present their confession in writing, which was read for them; and some, that were able and willing, did make their confession in their own words and way; a due respect was also had unto the conversations of men, namely, that they were without scandal. But some of the passengers that came over at the same time, observing that the ministers did not at all use the book of common prayer, and that they did administer baptism and the Lord's supper without the ceremonies, and that they professed also to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons, by a personal application of the word of God, as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the church, they began to raise some trouble; of these Mr. Samuel Brown and his brother were the chief, the one being a lawyer, the other a merchant, both of them amongst the number of the first patentees, men of estates, and men of parts and port in the place. These two brothers gathered a company together, in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there, sundry times, the book of common prayer was read unto such as resorted thither. The governor, Mr. Endicot, taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he con-

vented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the church of England, that they were separatists, and would be anabaptists, etc., but for themselves, they would hold to the orders of the church of England. The ministers answered for themselves, they were neither separatists nor anabaptists, they did not separate from the church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there; and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much from their non-conformity in their native land, and therefore being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. The governor and council, and the generality of the people, did well approve of the ministers' answer; and therefore finding those two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governor told them, that New England was no place for such as they; and therefore he sent them both back for England, at the return of the ships the same year; and though they breathed out threatenings both against the governor and ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it.

The two ministers there being seriously studious of reformation, they considered of the state of their children, together with their parents; concerning which, letters did pass between Mr. Higginson and Mr. Brewster, the reverend elder of the church at Plimouth, and they did agree in their judgments, namely, concerning the church membership of the children with their parents; and that baptism was a seal of their membership; only when they were adult, they being not scandalous, they were to be examined by the church officers, and upon their approbation of their fitness, and upon the children's public and personally owning of the covenant, they were to be received unto the Lord's supper. Accordingly, Mr. Higginson's eldest son, be-

ing about fifteen years of age, was owned to have been received a member together with his parents, and being privately examined by the pastor, Mr. Skelton, about his knowledge in the principles of religion, he did present him before the church when the Lord's supper was to be administered, and the child, then publicly and personally owning the covenant of the God of his father, he was admitted unto the Lord's supper; it being then professedly owned, according to 1 Cor. vii. 14; that the children of the church are holy unto the Lord as well as their parents, accordingly the parents owning and retaining the baptism, which they themselves received in their infancy, in their native land, as they had any children born, baptism was administered unto them, namely, to the children of such as were members of that particular church.

Mr. Higginson lived but one year after the settling of the church there, departed this life about the same time the next year, in the month of August, 1630.[1] Mr. Skelton lived until the year 1634, when he also quietly slept in the Lord, and were both buried at Salem. As it is an honour to be in Christ before others, as in Rom. xvi., so also to be first in the Lord's work, and to be faithful in it, as these two holy men were, who made such a beginning in church reformation, as was afterwards followed by many others.

In the year 1634, Mr. Roger Williams removed from Plimouth to Salem; he had lived about three years at Plimouth, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then pastor of the church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon

1 Rev. Francis Higginson received his education at Emanuel College, Cambridge. His talents, acquirements, and character brought him the offer of some of the best livings in England, but his scruples of non-conformity would not suffer him to accept them. He was a man of eminent talents, indued with grace, apt to teach, mighty in the Scriptures, learned in the tongues, able to convince gainsayers. He was courteous and obliging, and uncommonly popular as a preacher. He died at the age of forty-three.—*Annals of Salem*, p. 43.

others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismission to the church of Salem, which though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder there, fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions, and there being many abler men in the bay, they would better deal with him than themselves could, and foreseeing, what he professed he feared concerning Mr. Williams, which afterwards came to pass, that he would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith, the se-baptist at Amsterdam had done; the church of Plimouth consented to his dismission, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him, to Salem. He came to Salem in the time of Mr. Skelton's weakness, who lived not long after Mr. Williams was come, whereupon after some time, the church there called him to office; but he having in one year's time, filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to anabaptistry, the prudent magistrates of the Massachusetts jurisdiction sent to the church of Salem, desiring them to forbear calling him to office, which they hearkening to, was a cause of much disturbance; for Mr. Williams had begun, and then being in office, he proceeded more vigorously to vent many dangerous opinions, as amongst many others these were some; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and in special, not the oath of fidelity to the civil government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have communion, either in family prayer, or in an oath, with such as they judged unregenerate; and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do; also, that it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither, and therefore he admonished any church members that had done so, as for heinous sin; also he spake dangerous words against the patent, which was the foundation of the government of the Massachusetts colony; also he affirmed, that the magistrates had nothing to do in

matters of the first table, but only the second; and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience, was persecution.

And further, he procured the church of Salem's consent unto letters of admonition, which were written and sent by him, in their name, to the churches at Boston, Charlestown, Newtown (now Cambridge), etc., accusing the magistrates, that were members of the respective churches, of sundry heinous offences, which he laid unto their charge; and though divers did acknowledge their error and gave satisfaction, yet Mr. Williams himself, notwithstanding all the pains that was taken with him by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and many others, to bring him to a sight of his errors and miscarriages, and, notwithstanding all the court's gentle proceedings with him, he not only persisted, but grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he staying at home in his own house, sent a letter, which was delivered and read in the public church assembly, the scope of which was to give them notice, that if the church of Salem would not separate not only from the churches of Old England, but the churches of New England too, he would separate from them. The more prudent and sober part of the church, being amazed at his way, could not yield unto him; whereupon he never came to the church assembly more, professing separation from them as antichristian, and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious communion from any that would hold communion with the church there, insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife nor any of his family, because they went to the church assemblies. Divers of the weaker sort of the church members, that had been thoroughly leavened with his opinions, of which number were divers women that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him, insomuch as he kept a meeting in his own house, unto which a numerous company did resort, both on the Sabbath day and at other times in way of separation from, and opposition to the church assembly there;

which the prudent magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain, they passed a sentence of banishment against him out of the Massachusetts colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the church and commonwealth.[1]

After which Mr. Williams sat down in a place called Providence, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and was followed by many of the members of the church at Salem, who did zealously adhere to him, and who cried out of the persecution that was against him; some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not been long there together, but from rigid separation they fell to anabaptistry, renouncing the baptism which they had received in their infancy, and taking up another baptism, and so began a church in that way; but Mr. Williams stopped not there long, for after some time he told the people that followed him, and joined with him in a new baptism, that he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity, as well as their first; and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apostles; and so they dissolved themselves and turned Seekers, keeping that one principle, that every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences; but otherwise not owning any churches or ordinances of God anywhere upon earth.

Thus much was thought meet to be inserted here con-

[1] The Plymouth colonists seemed to have more consistent views of religious liberty and toleration than the Massachusetts'. Gov. Hutchinson says, "When Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents were banished from that colony, they applied to the colony of Plymouth for leave to settle upon Aquidnick, or Rhode Island, which was then acknowledged to be within Plymouth patent, and it was readily granted, although their tenets were no more approved by Plymouth than Massachusetts. Some of the Quakers also fled to Plymouth bounds, and probably saved their lives, for although they made laws severe enough against erroneous opinions, yet in no case capital.—See Gov. Hutch. *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 421.

cerning the great and lamentable apostasy of Mr. Williams, that it may be a warning to all others to take heed of a gradual declining from, and forsaking the churches of Christ, and ordinances of God in them, lest they be left of God to run such a course as he hath done; wherefore let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall, 1 Cor. x. 12; as also to be a motive to the saints to remember him unto God in their fervent prayers for his return, he having been sometimes an able dispenser of the word of God, and, in several respects of an exemplary conversation.

And yet that there may be a standing evidence of the care that was had in those times to prevent the growth of errors, and of the exercises of the communion of churches for that end, it is thought meet further to insert this passage; that before the putting forth of the civil power of the magistrate for the removing of Mr. Williams from Salem, and besides other means also used, there was a public admonition sent in writing from the church of Boston to the church of Salem, for the reducing of Mr. Williams, and the erring part of the church. The title of the writing was,

Errors in doctrine maintained by some of the brethren of the church of Salem, tending to the disturbance of religion and peace, in family, church, and commonwealth, namely,

1. That it is not lawful to call upon an unregenerate man to pray for himself.
2. It is not lawful for a regenerate man to pray with his carnal family.
3. It is not lawful for magistrates to take an oath of fidelity from unregenerate men.
4. It is not lawful for magistrates to take an oath of fidelity from the body of their subjects, though regenerate, and members of churches.
5. It is not lawful for magistrates to punish the breaches of the first table, unless thereby the civil peace of the commonwealth be disturbed.

Whence also it follows, and is confessed,

That a church wholly declining into arianism, papism, familism, or other heresies, being admonished, and convinced thereof by other churches, and not reforming, may not be reformed by the civil magistrate, in a way of civil justice, unless it break the civil peace.

These errors were solidly confuted, and the contrary truths asserted, by the word of God, in that writing which was subscribed by

JOHN COTTON, *Teacher of the church of Boston.*
THOMAS OLIVER,
THOMAS LEVERETT, } *Elders of the same church.*

Mr. Wilson the pastor of the church being at that time absent upon a voyage to England.[1]

[1] As of Gorton, so of Roger Williams, the early narratives vary, and it is difficult for us, at this day, to form a correct estimate of the character of these men. Some allowance is doubtless to be made from the false notions then generally prevalent on toleration, and the connection of civil and religious affairs, as also from the excitement arising from their peculiar state and circumstances. Looking at them from our standpoint, we qualify somewhat the early statements on both sides. While we are led to believe that Roger Williams's conduct was sometimes censurable, and that he gave just occasion for suspicions and complaints, we must also think that the complaints and treatment of him were quite too severe. With his faults, it must be admitted also, that there was much to approve and to admire in his character. On the question of religious liberty and toleration, he was doubtless greatly in the advance of his day.

But he advanced some sentiments on religious subjects, and in regard to the patent, which occasioned him great opposition and trouble. And as Judge Davis says, "His opinions had reference to topics of so much interest, that we must expect to meet a bias of considerable strength in those who oppose, and in those who defend him." Gov. Bradford's statement regarding Williams is as reliable and correct probably as any that can be found. On the whole he thought well of Williams.

As found on the church records at Plymouth, Bradford says, "Roger Williams, a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgment, came over first to the Massachusetts, but upon some discontent, left the place and came hither (to Plymouth), when he was freely entertained according to our poor ability, and exercised his gifts among us, and after some time, was admitted a member of the church, and his teaching

1630.

This year it pleased God, of his rich grace, to transport over into the bay of the Massachusetts divers honourable personages, and many worthy Christians, whereby the Lord began in a manifest manner and way to make known the great thoughts which he had of planting the gospel in this remote and barbarous wilderness, and honouring his own way of instituted worship, causing such and so many to adhere thereunto, and fall upon the practice thereof; among the rest, a chief one amongst them was that famous pattern of piety and justice, Mr. John Winthrop, the first governor of the jurisdiction, accompanied with divers other precious sons of Sion, which might be compared to the most fine gold.[1] Amongst whom, also, I might name that

well approved, for the benefit whereof I still bless God, and am thankful to him even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agree with the truth. He this year fell into some strange opinions, and from opinions to practice, which caused some controversy between the church and him, and in the end some discontent on his part, by occasion whereof he left them something abruptly; yet afterwards sued for his dismission to the church of Salem, which was granted with some caution to them concerning him; but he soon fell into more things there both to their and the government's trouble and disturbance. I shall not need to name particulars, they are too well known now to all, though for a time the church here went under some hard censures by his occasion from some that afterwards smarted themselves, but he is to be pitied and prayed for, and so I shall leave the matter, and desire the Lord to show him his errors, and reduce him into the way of truth, and give him a settled judgment and constancy in the same, for I hope he belongs to the Lord."

For further particulars of Williams, see Hutchinson's *Hist.*, vol. i., 40, 41, 113, 131; Winthrop's *Journal; Mass. Hist. Coll.;* Callender's *Hist. R.I.;* Felt's *Eccl. History of New England and Memoir*, by Prof. Knowles.

1 March 8, 1630. Mr. Sherley of London writes to Gov. Bradford, "Those who came in May and those now sent, must some while be chargeable to you and us." "This is another company of our Leyden friends, who arrived at the latter end of May, and the charge of this last company comes to above £550, for transporting them from Holland to England, their lying there, with clothing and passage hither, besides the fetching them from Salem

reverend and worthy man, Mr. John Wilson, eminent for love and zeal; he likewise came over this year, and bare a great share of the difficulties of these new beginnings, with great cheerfulness and alacrity of spirit. They came over with a fleet of ten ships, three of them arriving first at Salem, in which several of the chiefest of them came, who repaired, sundry of them, in some short time, into the bay of the Massachusetts; the other seven ships arrived at Charlestown, where it pleased the Lord to exercise them with much sickness, and being destitute of housing and shelter, and lying up and down in booths, some of them languished and died. Yea, it pleased God to take away amongst the rest that blessed servant of Christ, Mr. Isaac Johnson, with his lady, soon after their arrival, with sundry other precious saints.

This sickness being heavy upon them, caused the principal of them to propose to the rest to set a day apart to seek the Lord, for the assuaging of his displeasure therein, as also for direction and guidance in the solemn enterprise of entering into church fellowship; which solemn day of humiliation was observed by all, not only of themselves, but also by their brethren at Plimouth in their behalf;[1] and the Lord was entreated not only to assuage the sickness, but also encouraged their hearts to a beginning, and in some short time after to a further progress in the great work of erecting a way of worshipping of Christ in church fellowship, according to primitive institution. Those choice and eminent servants of Christ did not despise

and the bay, where they and their goods are landed, all which the New Plymouth undertakers pay gratis, besides providing them housing, preparing them ground, and maintaining them with food sixteen months before they have a harvest of their own, which comes to near as much more; a rare example of brotherly love and Christian care in performing their promises to their brethren, even beyond their power."—Bradford in Prince, 272.

1 The day of humiliation was Friday, July 30. Mr. Winslow and Mr. Fuller, being on a mission at Salem, from Plymouth church, with Mr. Allerton, write to their friends on this subject, July 26, 1630.—*Hist. Coll.*, iii. 76.

their poor leaders and fellow-soldiers that they found in the same work of the Lord with them, at Plimouth, but treated them as brethren, much pitying their great straits and hardships they had endured in the first beginning of planting this wilderness, promising all helpfulness even out of their own estates, according to their power; and their said brethren at Plimouth were persuaded they spake as they thought in their hearts; for, such was the simplicity of those times, as that divers faces were not carried under a hood; pride, covetousness, profaneness, and sinful self, were ashamed to be seen, except in obscure places and persons. O poor New England! consider what thou wast, and what thou now art! Repent and do thy first works, saith the Lord! So may thy peace be as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea, Isa. xlviii. 18, 19. So be it. But to return.

The first that began in the work of the Lord above mentioned, were their honoured governor, Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, forenamed, that much honoured gentleman, Mr. Thomas Dudley, and Mr. John Wilson, aforesaid; these four were the first that began that honourable church of Boston, unto whom there joined many other. The same year also Mr. George Phillips, who was a worthy servant of Christ and dispenser of his word, began a church fellowship at Watertown; as did also Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham at Dorchester, the same day.

Thus, out of small beginnings, greater things have been produced by his hand that made all things of nothing; and, as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone unto many, yea, in some sort, to our whole nation. Let the glorious name of Jehovah have all the praise in all ages.[1]

[1] Mr. Prince transcribes from "The Book of Charters," a patent granted January 13, 1630, from "the Council for New England," to "William Bradford and his associates and assigns, all that part of New England between Cohasset rivulet towards the north, and Narraganset river towards the south, the Western Ocean towards

1631.

This year the reverend and useful instrument Mr. John Eliot came over, and not long after Mr. Weld, who began a church society at Roxbury; as likewise

the east (the Atlantic was then so called), and between a straight line directly extending up into the main land towards the west, from the mouth of Narraganset river to the utmost bounds of a country in New England called Pacanokit, alias Sawamset westward, and another like straight line extending directly from the mouth of Cohasset river towards the west, so far into the main land westward, as the utmost limits of the said Pacanokit or Sawamset entered;" also a tract of land fifteen miles on each side of Kennebeck river, which they afterwards sold.

The patent recites that the grantees "had lived nine years in New England, had planted a town called New Plymouth, at their own charges, and by the special providence of God, and their extraordinary care and industry, had increased their plantations to near three hundred people, and are, on all occasions, able to relieve any new planters, or others of his majesty's subjects who may fall on that coast." It gives them "all the *right* and *interest* which the said *council* had or ought to have thereto, with liberty to trade with the natives, and fish in the seas adjoining," and "liberty to make orders, ordinances, and constitutions not contrary to the laws of England, for their better government, and to put the same in execution, by such officers as they shall authorize and depute."—Prince, 268, 269.

The reader will be very likely to inquire what "*right* and *interest*" this *council* had, which they here undertook to convey? The following is taken from Prince, 180:—

"Nov. 3, about a week before of their (the Pilgrims) arriving at Cape Cod, king James signs a patent for the incorporation of the adventurers to the northern colonies of Virginia, between 40 and 48 degrees north, being the duke Lenox. The marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and Sir F. Gorges, with thirty-four others, and their successors, styling them 'The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England in America,' which is the great and civil basis of all the future patents and plantations which divide this country."

"Oct. 1630. The first execution in Plymouth colony; which is a matter of great sadness to us, is of one John Billington, for waylaying and shooting John Newcomen, a young man, in the shoulder, whereof he died. The said Billington was one of the profanest among us. He came from London, and I know not by what friends, shuffled into our company. We used all due means about his trial; he was found guilty both by grand and petty jury, and we took the advice of Mr. Winthrop and others, the ablest

good old Mr. Maverick, and Mr. Warham began one at Dorchester.[1]

1632.[2]

This year one Sir Christopher Gardiner, being, as himself said, descended of the house of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was so great a persecutor of God's saints in Queen Mary's days, arrived in New England; he being a great traveller received his first honour of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made a knight at the sepulchre there. He came into these parts in pretence of forsaking the world, and to live a private life in a godly course, not unwilling to put himself upon any mean employment, and take any pains for his living, and sometimes offered himself to join to the church in sundry places; he brought over with him a servant or two, and a comely young woman, whom he called his cousin; but it was suspected that, after the Italian manner, she was his concubine. He living at the Mas-

gentlemen in Massachusetts Bay, who all concurred with us that he ought to die, and the land be purged from blood."—*Ibid.* 320.

[1] The Rev. John Warham, first minister of Windsor, Ct., was an eminent preacher at Exeter; the Rev. John Maverick, lived about forty miles from that city. Mr. Maverick died at Boston, in February, 1636; a large part of his society had, just before, removed to Windsor, in Connecticut, and it was his intention to follow them. Mr. Warham accompanied those of his people who removed to Connecticut, and died at Windsor in 1670. "I suppose," says Dr. Mather, "the first preacher that ever preached with notes, in our New England, was the reverend Warham, who, though he were sometimes faulted for it, by some judicious men, who had never heard him, yet, when once they came to hear him, they could not but admire the notable energy of his ministry. He was a more vigorous preacher than the most of them, who have been applauded for never looking into a book in their lives."—Allen's *Biog. Dict.*, *Hist. Coll.*, ix. 127–199; *Life of John Eliot; Hist. Coll.*, viii. 5–36.

[2] This year (1632), the general court of Plymouth colony make an extraordinary act, that whoever refuses the office of governor shall pay twenty pounds sterling, unless he were chosen two years going, and whoever refuses the office of councillor or magistrate, ten pounds."—Prince, 411.

"Mr. Bradford having been governor near twelve years, now, by importunity, gets off (1633)."—Prince, 411, 423.

sachusetts, for some miscarriages for which he should have answered, fled away from authority, and got amongst the Indians in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. The governor of the Massachusetts sent after him, but could not get him, and promised some reward to those that should find him. The Indians came to the governor of Plimouth, and told where he was, and asked if they might kill him, but the said governor told them no, they should not kill him by no means, but if they could take him alive and bring him to Plimouth, they should be paid for their pains; they said he had a gun and a rapier, and he would kill them if they went about it, and the Massachusetts Indians said they might kill him, but the governor aforesaid told them no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunity and take him, and so they did, for when they light on him by a river side, he got into a canoe to get from them, and when they came near him, whilst he presented his piece at them to keep them off, the stream carried the canoe against a rock, and threw both him and his piece, and the rapier into the water, yet he got out, and having a little dagger by his side, they durst not close with him; but getting long poles, they soon beat the dagger out of his hand; so he was glad to yield, and they brought him to the governor at Plimouth, but his hands and arms were swelled very sore with the blows they had given him; so he used him kindly, and sent him to a lodging where his arms were bathed and anointed, and he was quickly well again, and blamed the Indians for beating him so much. They said they did but a little whip him with sticks. In his lodging, those that made his bed found a little note-book, that by accident had slipped out of his pocket, or some private place, in which was a memorial what day he was reconciled to the Pope or church of Rome, and in what university he took his scapula, and such and such a degree; it being brought to the governor, he kept it and sent it to the governor of the Massachusetts, with word of his taking, who sent for him; but afterwards he went to England and showed his malice against New

England, but God prevented him; of which I thought meet to insert a letter from Mr. Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts, to Mr. Bradford, the governor of Plimouth, in reference to this matter, as also the copy of an order relating to the same as followeth. And first of the letter :—

Sir,

Upon a petition exhibited by Sir Christopher Gardiner, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason, etc., against you and us, the cause was heard before the Lords of the Privy Council, and afterwards reported to the king; the success whereof makes it evident to all, that the Lord hath care of his people here; the passages are admirable and too long to write. I heartily wish for an opportunity to impart them unto you, being many sheets of paper; but the conclusion was, against all men's expectation, an order for our encouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries, which calls for much thankfulness from us all, which we purpose, God willing, to express in a day of thanksgiving to our merciful God [1] (I doubt not but you will consider if it be not fit for you to join in it), who, as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that which our enemies built their hopes upon to ruin us by, he hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further acquaint you when occasion shall serve. The copy of the order follows.

At the Court at Whitehall, January 19, 1632.

Sigillum Crescent.

Lord Privy Seal,	Mr. Trevers,
Earl of Dorset,	Mr. Vice Chamberlain,
Lord Viscount Falkland,	Mr. Secretary Cook,
Lord Bishop of London,	Mr. Secretary Windebank.
Lord Cottington,	

[1] The thanksgiving proposed by Governor Winthrop, was kept on the 19th of June.—Winth. *Jour.*

Whereas his majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in the plantations in the parts of America, called New England, which if they be true, and suffered to run on, would tend to the dishonour of this kingdom, and utter ruin of that plantation; for prevention whereof, and for the orderly settling of government, according to the intention of those patents which have been granted by his majesty, and from his late royal father, king James; it hath pleased his majesty, that the lords and others of his most honourable privy council should take the same into consideration; their lordships, in the first place, thought fit to make a committee of this board, to take examination of the matters informed; which committee having called divers of the principal adventurers in that plantation, and heard those that are complainants against them; most of the things informed being denied, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expense of time, and at present their lordships finding they were upon despatch of men, victuals, and merchandise for that place, all which would be at a stand if the adventurers should have discouragement, or take suspicion that the state here had no good opinion of that plantation; their lordships not laying the fault or fancies (if any be) of some particular men upon the general government, or principal adventurers, which in due time is further to be inquired into; have thought fit, in the mean time, to declare, that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom, and profitable to the particulars, as that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patents it is appointed, his majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing further that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there of that place, etc.[1]

WILLIAM TRUMBALL.

[1] See Prince, October 25, 1632.

1633.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. William Bradford, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Howland, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Doan, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, and Mr. William Gilson, were chosen to be his assistants in government.[1]

The plantation of Plimouth, having had some former converse with the Dutch, as hath been hinted, they seeing them seated in a barren quarter, told them of a river called by them the fresh river,[2] which they often commended unto them for a good place, both for plantation and trade, and wished them to make use of it; but their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass; but afterwards, there coming a company of Indians into these parts, that were driven out of their country by the potency of the Pequots, they solicited them to go thither. These Indians not seeing them very forward to entertain the motion, which they moved with great ardency, they solicited them of the government of the

[1] "Mr. Edward Winslow chosen governor of Plimouth, Mr. Bradford having been governor about ten years, and now by importunity got off."—Winth. *Jour.*, 47.

The great swamp mentioned in this narrative was in Pembroke. The great river is supposed to be what is now called North river. Ludham's ford was probably in Hanover, about fourteen miles from Plymouth. Massagascus was probably written Wissagasscus; and indicates the place which was commonly called Wessagussett. In August, 1635, "Wessagasscus was made a plantation, and Mr. Hall a minister, and twenty-one families with him, allowed to sit down there—after called Weymouth."—Winth. *Jour.*, 84. The term prophesying, in the sense intended by Governor Winthrop, in his account of the religious exercises at Plymouth, has become obsolete. It originated in the reign of Elizabeth, when the Puritans maintained frequent religious exercises, in which texts of Scripture were interpreted or discussed, one speaking to the subject, after another, in an orderly method. This was called prophesying, in reference to 1 Cor. xv. 31. Ye all may prophesy, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.—Neal's *Hist. Puritans*, i. 184.

[2] Which is the same called Connecticut river.—M.

Massachusetts in like sort, but they being then not fit to entertain the motion, in respect that they were newly come into the country, did not much regard it. Notwithstanding, some of the chief made a motion to join some here in a way of trade at the same river; on which a meeting was appointed to treat concerning the same matter, and some of Plimouth appointed to give them meeting, which they did, but they cast in the way many fears of danger and loss, and the like, on which they of the Massachusetts declined the thing, and did not proceed therein. Whereupon those of Plimouth went alone, and prepared a frame of an house, and stowed it into a bark, ready to rear at their landing, and went up the said river and reared their said house, and fenced it about with a palisado, which was done with great difficulty, not only of the Dutch, but also of the Indians; notwithstanding the place they possessed themselves of was such as the Dutch had nothing to do with, and likewise was bought of the Indians which they carried with them. And this was Plimouth's entrance there, who deserved to have held it, and not by friends to have been thrust out, as in a sort they afterwards were.

This year it pleased God to visit Plimouth with an infectious fever, of which many fell very sick, and upwards of twenty died, men, women, and children, and sundry of them were of their ancient friends;[1] amongst the rest, Mr. Samuel Fuller then died, after he had much helped others, and was a comfort to them; he was their surgeon and physician, and did much good in his place, being not only useful in his faculty, but otherwise, as he was a godly man, and served Christ in the office of a deacon in the church for many years, and

[1] One of these "ancient friends," who died at this time, was Mr. Thomas Blossom.—Prince, ii. 96. Some of his letters from Leyden may be seen in *Hist. Collections*, vol. iii. On his arrival at Plymouth, he was elected a deacon of the church.—Cotton's *Hist. of Plymouth Church; Hist. Coll.*, iv. 111. Mr. Cotton places his death, with that of his associate, Mr. Masterton, before 1630. But Mr. Prince, who quotes Governor Bradford's *MS.* relative to the sickness of 1633, is probably correct.

forward to do good in his place, and was much missed after God removed him out of this world.

This sickness caused much sadness amongst them, and, according to their duty, they besought the Lord by fasting and prayer, and he was entreated of them, and towards winter the sickness ceased. This sickness, being a kind of pestilent fever, swept away also many of the Indians from places near adjoining to Plimouth.

It is to be observed, that the spring before this sickness, there was a numerous company of flies, which were like for bigness unto wasps or bumblebees; they came out of little holes in the ground, and did eat up the green things, and made such a constant yelling noise as made the woods ring of them, and ready to deafen the hearers; they were not any of them heard or seen by the English in the country before this time; but the Indians told them that sickness would follow, and it did, very hot, in the months of June, July, and August of that summer.[1]

This year there arrived in New England, those three worthy instruments, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Thomas Hooker, and Mr. Samuel Stone, who were gospel preachers, of excellent worth and use in their places, until God took them out of the world unto himself.

This year likewise, Mr. William Collier arrived with his family in New England, who, as he had been a

[1] Prince says, "they are known by the name of *locusts*." The prevailing opinion is, that they make their appearance *Septem decenially*, and this seems to be confirmed by long observation. Their chrysalis state seems not to be known, and probably they have several transmutations during the long interval of their appearance. By what means they make "such a yelling noise" seems not to be well agreed. But as to their "eating up the green things," this is a mistake. They pitch upon the young branches of oak trees generally, and with a kind of chisel in their posterior, they penetrate and split the limb and deposit their *ova* in the pith, and in a short time the limb breaks, and the leaves die, and give the appearance of being eaten. The end of the limb falls to the ground, the ova produces the worm, which enters the earth, and the locusts in due time return. It does not appear that they have any kind of nourishment during their appearance, unless it be the dew or rain. See Dobson's *Encyclopædia*.

good benefactor to the colony of New Plimouth, before he came over, having been an adventurer unto it at its first beginning, so, also, he approved himself a very useful instrument, in that jurisdiction, after he arrived, being frequently chosen, and for divers years serving God and the country in the place of magistracy, and lived a godly and holy life, until old age, which to him is a crown of glory, being found in the way of righteousness.[1]

1634.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. His assistants in government were Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Howland, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins.

In the spring of this year there fell a very great sickness of the smallpox amongst the Indians, so as they died most miserably of it; for a sorer disease cannot come amongst them, and they dread it more than the plague itself; for, usually, those of them which have this disease, have them in abundance, and for want of bedding and linen, and other necessaries, fall into a lamentable condition; for, as they lie on their hard mats, the pock breaking and running one into another, their skin cleaving by reason thereof to the mats they lie on, when they turn them, much of their skin flays off at once, and they will be all on a gore of blood, most sad and grievous to behold; and then, being very sore, what with cold and other distempers, they die like rotten sheep.

This year one Capt. Stone, who had sometimes lived at Christophers, in the West Indies, came into these

[1] "This year a small gleane of rye was brought to the court (in Massachusetts), as the first-fruits of English graine, at which the poor people greatly rejoiced, to see the land would bear it."—Johnson's *Wond. Work. Prov.* 61.

parts; of whom I have nothing to speak in the way of commendation, but rather the contrary. After he had been to and fro in the country, he returned towards Virginia, with one Capt. Norton; and so it was, that, as they returned, they went into Connecticut river, where the Indians killed the said Stone as he lay in his cabin, and threw a covering over him. They likewise killed all the rest of his company, but the said Capt. Norton, he defending himself a long time in the cook-room of the bark, until, by accident, the gunpowder took fire, which for readiness he had set in an open thing before him, which did so burn and scald him, and blind his eyes, as he could make no longer resistance, but was slain also by them, and they made a prey of his goods.

It is to be observed, that the said Stone, being at the Dutch plantation, in the fore part of this year, a certain bark of Plimouth being there likewise on trading, he kept company with the Dutch governor, and made him drunk, and got leave of him, in his drunkenness, to take the said bark, without any occasion or cause given him; and so, taking his time when the merchant and some of the chief of the men were on shore, with some of his own men, made the rest of them weigh anchor, and set sail to carry her away to Virginia; but some of the Dutch seamen, who had been at Plimouth, and received kindness, seeing this horrible abuse, got a vessel or two and pursued them, and brought them back. After this he came into the Massachusetts Bay, where they commenced suit against him; but by the mediation of some it was taken up,[1] and afterwards, in the company of some gentlemen, he came to Plimouth, and was kindly entertained; but revenge boiling in his breast, as some conceived, he watched a season to have stabbed the

[1] Captain Standish repaired to Boston, to accuse Stone of piracy, and the offender was required to give surety to appear in the Admiralty in England. "But after," says Gov. Winthrop, "those of Plimouth, being persuaded it would turn to their reproach, and that it would be no piracy, we withdrew the cognizancy."—Winth. *Jour.*, p. 50.

governor, and put his hand to his dagger for that end, but by God's providence, ordering the vigilance of some that were about him, he was prevented; but God met with him for these and other wickednesses, as hath been before related.[1]

[1] Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow, two of the magistrates of Plymouth, with Mr. Smith, their pastor, came to Boston by water, to confer with some of our magistrates and ministers about their case of Kennebeck. There met hereabout Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wilson, and after they had sought the Lord, they fell first upon some passages which they had taken some offence at, but those were soon cleared. Then for the matter itself, it fell into these two points: first, whether their right of trade there were such, as they might lawfully hinder others from coming there: second, admitting that, whether in point of conscience they might so far stand upon their right as to take away or hazard any man's life in defence of it.

For the first, their right appeared to be good; for that, besides the king's grant, they had taken up that place as *vacuum domicilium*, and so had continued without interruption or claim of any of the natives, for divers years, and also had, by their charge and providence, drawn down thither the greatest part of the trade, by carrying wampampeage thither, which none of the English had known the use of before. For the second, they alleged, that their servant did kill Hockin to save other of their men, whom he was ready to have shot. Yet they acknowledged that they did hold themselves under guilt of the breach of the sixth commandment, in that they did hazard man's life for such a cause, and did not rather wait to preserve their right by other means, which they rather acknowledged; because they wished it were not done; and hereafter they would be careful to prevent the like.—Winthrop's *Hist. N. E.*, p. 162.

"One pleasant passage," says Gov. Winthrop, "happened, which was acted by the Indians this year. Mr. Winslow coming in his bark from Connecticut to Narraganset, and left her there, and intending to return by land, he went to Osamequin, the Sagamore, his old ally, who offered to conduct him to Plymouth; but before they took their journey, Osamequin sent one of his men to Plimouth, to tell them that Mr. Winslow was dead, and directed him to show how and where he was killed; whereupon there was much fear and sorrow at Plimouth. The next day, when Osamequin brought him home, they asked him why he sent such word, etc., he answered that it was their manner to do so, that they might be more welcome when they came home."—Winth. *Hist. N. E.*, p. 165.

1635.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Howland, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow took a voyage for England, on public occasions, and it came to pass that he had occasion to answer some complaints made against the country at the council board; more chiefly concerning the Massachusetts jurisdiction, which he did to good effect, and further prosecuted such things as might tend to the good of the whole; in particular, he preferred a petition to the right honourable the lords commissioners for the plantations in America, in reference unto some injuries done by the French and Dutch unto the country; which petition found good acceptance, and was in a way to a satisfactory answer. But sundry adversaries interposed, whose ends were the subversion and overthrow of the churches, at least to disturb their peace, and hinder their growth; but, by God's providence, it so fell out in the end, that although those adversaries crossed the petition from taking any further effect, in the end principally intended in it; yet by this, as a means, the whole plot was discovered, and those adversaries came to nothing. The particulars whereof are too long here to be inserted.

This year, on Saturday, the fifteenth day of August, was such a mighty storm of wind and rain, as none now living in these parts, either English or Indian, had seen the like; being like unto those hurricanes, or tuffins, that writers mention to be in the Indies. It began in the morning a little before day, and grew not by degrees, but came with great violence in the beginning, to the great amazement of many. It blew down sundry houses, and uncovered divers others; divers vessels were lost at sea in it, and many more in extreme danger.

It caused the sea to swell in some places to the southward of Plimouth, as that it arose to twenty foot right up and down, and made many of the Indians to climb into trees for their safety. It threw down all the corn to the ground, which never rose more, the which, through the mercy of God, it being near the harvest time, was not lost, though much the worse; and had the wind continued without shifting, in likelihood it would have drowned some part of the country. It blew down many hundred thousands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the high pine trees, and such like, in the midst; and the tall young oaks, and walnut trees, of good bigness, were wound as a withe by it, very strange and fearful to behold. It began in the south-east, and veered sundry ways, but the greatest force of it, at Plimouth, was from the former quarter; it continued not in extremity above five or six hours before the violence of it began to abate; the marks of it will remain this many years, in those parts where it was sorest. The moon suffered a great eclipse two nights after it.[1]

1 "In the same tempest a bark of Mr. Allerton's was cast away upon Cape Ann, and twenty-one persons drowned; among the rest one Mr. Avery, a minister in Wiltshire, a godly man, with his wife and six small children, were drowned. None were saved but one Mr. Thatcher and his wife, who were cast on shore and preserved."

The general court gave Mr. Thatcher £26 13*s.* 4*d.*, toward his losses, and divers good people gave him besides. Mr. Thatcher was the uncle of the Rev. Thomas Thatcher, who came over with him in the *James*, 1635, and who was ordained pastor of the church at Weymouth, January 2, 1645, and installed the first pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, February 16, 1670. He was the progenitor of the long line of clergymen who have distinguished the name of Thatcher. Cotton Mather says, that a day or two before that fatal voyage from Newbury to Marblehead, our young Thatcher (the same Thomas Thatcher) had such a strong and sad impression upon his mind, about the issue of the voyage, that he, with another, would needs go the journey by land, and so he escaped perishing with some of his pious and precious friends by sea.—Young's *Chron. Mass.*, 594. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 486–495, for a full account of this shipwreck.

1636.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth; and Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year the towns on the river of Connecticut began to be planted,[1] and in transporting of goods thither, from the Massachusetts Bay, two shallops were cast away, loaded with goods to go thither, in an easterly storm, at the mouth of Plimouth harbour; the boat's men were all lost, not so much as any of their bodies found for burial, they being five in number in both boats. The principal of them was one Mr. William Cooper, an ancient seaman, of known skill, having formerly been master of a ship, and had gone great voyages to the East Indies, and to other parts; but the night being dark and stormy, they ran upon the skirt of a flat that lieth near the mouth of the harbour, and so were overraked; the goods came on shore along the harbour, and the governor caused a careful course to be taken for the preservation of them, in the behalf of the right owners, who afterwards received so many of them as were saved.

Now followeth the tragedy of the war that fell betwixt the English and the Pequots, which I will relate according to my best intelligence; in order whereunto I thought good to mention some particulars first, that by discerning the whole matter, in the several parts and circumstances, the more of the mercy and goodness

1 "Mr. Hooker, pastor of the church at Newtown, and the rest of his congregation, went to Connecticut; his wife was carried in a horse-litter; and they took 160 cattle, and fed of their milk by the way."—Winth. *Hist. N. E.*, p. 223. There was a previous emigration in 1635, from Dorchester and Watertown. Hartford was settled by the company from Newtown. The Watertown people seated themselves at Wethersfield. Those from Dorchester selected a place afterward called Windsor.

of God may be taken notice of to his praise, for destroying so proud and blasphemous an enemy.[1]

In the year 1634, the Pequots, a stout and warlike people, who had made war with sundry of their neighbours, and being puffed up with many victories, grew now at variance with the Narragansets, a great people bordering upon them. These Narragansets held correspondence and terms of friendship with the English of the Massachusetts. Now the Pequots being conscious of the guilt of Capt. Stone's death, whom they knew to be an Englishman, as also those that were with him, and being fallen out with the Dutch, lest they should have over many enemies at once, sought to make friendship with the English of the Massachusetts, and for that end, sent both messengers and gifts unto them, as appears by some letters sent from the governor of the Massachusetts to the governor of Plimouth, as followeth :—

DEAR AND WORTHY SIR,

To let you know something of our affairs, you may understand that the Pequots have sent some of theirs to us, to desire our friendship, and offered much wampum and beaver, etc. The first messengers were dismissed without answer; with the next we had divers days' conference, and taking the advice of some of our ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace and friendship with them, upon these conditions, That they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stone's death, etc., and if we desired to plant in Connecticut, they should give up their right to us, and we would send to trade with them as our friends, which was the chief thing we aimed at, they being now at war with the Dutch, and the rest of their neigh-

[1] The Pequots were the most warlike tribe of New England. Those who wish to examine the history of this truly barbarous war in which the whole tribe was extirpated, may find it well written in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, chap. v. See also Holmes's *Annals*, p. 297; and *Hist Coll.*, pp. 273–293. The tribe inhabited the present county of New London, Conn., and their fort was on the river, between Stonington and Groton.

bours. To this they readily agreed; and that we should mediate a peace between them and the Narragansets, for which end they were content we should give the Narragansets part of the present they would bestow on us; for they stood so much on their honour, as they would not be seen to give anything of themselves. As for Capt. Stone, they told us there were but two left of those who had any hand in his death, and that they killed him in a just quarrel; for, said they, he surprised two of our men, and bound them, to make them by force to show him the way up the river, and he, with two others, coming on shore, nine Indians watched them, and when they were asleep in the night they killed them, to deliver their own men; and some of them, going afterwards to the bark, it was suddenly blown up. We are now preparing a bark to send unto them.[1]

Yours, ever assured,

JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston, March 12, 1634.

Not long after these things, Mr. John Oldham, of whom much is spoken before, being now an inhabitant of the Massachusetts, went, with a small vessel, and slenderly manned, on trading on those south parts; and, upon a quarrel between him and the Indians, was cut off by them, in such manner as hath been forenoted, at an island called by the Indians Manisses, by the English, Block Island. This, with the former, about the death of Stone, and the baffling of the Pequots with the English of the Massachusetts, moved them to take revenge, and to require satisfaction for these wrongs; but it took little effect; some of the murderers of Mr. Oldham fled to the Pequots, and although the English went to the Pequots, and had some parley with them, yet they did but delude them; and the English returned

[1] And in another letter he saith, "Our bark is lately returned from the Pequots, and our men put off but little commodities, and found them to be a very false people, so we mean to have no more to do with them."—M.

without doing any thing to purpose, being frustrated of their opportunity by their deceit. After the English of the Massachusetts were returned, the Pequots took their time and opportunity to cut off some of the English at Connecticut, as they passed up and down upon their occasions; and tortured some of them, in putting them to death in the most barbarous manner, and most blasphemously, in this their cruelty, bade them call upon their God, or mocked and derided them when they so did; and, not long after, assaulted them at their houses and habitations, as will appear more fully in the ensuing relation.

1637.

In the forepart of this year, the Pequots fell openly upon the English at Connecticut, in the lower parts of the river, and slew sundry of them, as they were at work in the fields, both men and women, to the great terror of the rest; and went away in great pride and triumph with many threats. They also assaulted Saybrook fort, at the mouth of the river of Connecticut, although it was strong and well defended. It struck them with much fear and astonishment, to see their bold attempts in the face of danger, which made them in all places to stand upon their guard, and to prepare for resistance, and earnestly to solicit their friends and confederates in the Massachusetts Bay, to send them speedy aid, for they looked for more forcible assaults. Mr. Vane, being then governor of that jurisdiction, writ from their general court to the governor and court of New Plimouth, to join with them in this war, to which they were cordially willing. In the mean time, before things could be prepared for to set out, the Pequots, as they had done the winter before, sought to make peace with the Narragansets, and used many pernicious arguments to move them thereunto, as that the English were strangers, and began to overspread their country, and would deprive them thereof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increase; and if the Narragansets did

assist the English to subdue them, that did but make way for their own overthrow; for if they were rooted out, the English would soon take occasion to subjugate them; and if they would hearken to them, they should not need to fear the strength of the English; for they would not come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their cattle, and lie in ambush for them, as they went abroad upon their occasions, and all this they might easily do with little danger to themselves. The which course being held, they well saw the English would not long subsist, but they would either be starved with hunger, or forced to forsake the country; with many like things, insomuch that the Narragansets were once wavering, and were half minded to have made peace with them, and joined against the English; but again, when they considered how much wrong they had received from the Pequots, and what an opportunity they had now, by helping the English to right themselves, revenge was so sweet to them, as it prevailed above all the rest; so as they resolved to join with the English against them, and so did. The court of Plimouth agreed to find fifty men at their own charge, and with as much speed as possible they could get them in readiness, under sufficient leaders, and provided a bark to carry their provisions, and to tend upon them on all occasions, and when they were ready to march with a supply from the bay, they had word sent them to stay, for the enemy was as good as vanquished, and there would be no need.

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their proceedings in this war, because possibly it hath been done by themselves that were actors therein, and best knew the circumstances of things; I shall therefore set them down in the main and general, according to my best intelligence.

From Connecticut, who were most sensible of the hurt sustained, and the present danger, they set out a party of men, and another party met them from the Massachusetts Bay, at the Narragansets, who were to join them. The Narragansets were very earnest to be

gone, before the English were well rested and refreshed, especially some of them which came last. It should seem their desire was come upon the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly. There being a bark of Plimouth newly put in there, which was come from Connecticut, they did encourage them to lay hold of the opportunity of the Indians' forwardness, and to show as great forwardness as they, for it would encourage them, and expedition might turn to their great advantage. So they went on, and so ordered their march, as the Indians brought them to the fort of their enemy, in which most of their chief men were, before day; they approached the same with great silence, and surrounded it both with English and Indians, that they might not break out, and so assaulted them with great courage, shooting among them, and entered the fort with great speed; and those that first entered found sharp resistance from the enemy, who both shot and grappled with them; others ran into their houses, and brought out fire and set them on fire, which soon took in their mats, and their houses standing close together, with the wind all was soon on a flame, and thereby more were burnt to death than were otherwise slain. It burnt their bow-strings, and made them unserviceable. Those that escaped the fire were slain with the sword; some hewed to pieces, some run through with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatched, and very few escaped. The number they thus destroyed, was conceived to be above four hundred. At this time it was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same; and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands, and give them so speedy a victory over so proud, insulting, and blasphemous an enemy. The Narragansets, all this while, stood round about aloof, off from all danger, and left the whole execution to the English, except it were the stopping any that brake away, insulting over their enemies in

their ruins and misery, when they saw them dancing in the fire; calling by a word in their own language, signifying, O brave Pequots! which they used familiarly amongst themselves in their own praises, in songs of triumphs after their victories.

After this service was thus happily accomplished, the English marched to the water-side, where they met with some of their vessels, by whom they were refreshed and supplied with victuals and other necessaries; but in their march, the rest of the Pequots drew into a body, and followed them, thinking to have some advantage against them by reason of a neck of land; but when they saw the English prepare for them, they kept aloof, so as they neither did hurt nor would receive any. And after the English their refreshing and repairing together for further counsel and directions, they resolved to pursue their victory, and follow the war against the rest; but the Narragansets most of them forsook them, and such of them as they had with them for guides or otherwise, they found very cold or backward in the business, either out of envy, or that they thought the English would make more profit of the victory than they were willing they should, or else deprive them of that advantage that they desired in making the Pequots become tributaries unto them, or the like.

For the rest of this tragedy, I shall only relate the same as in a letter from Mr. Winthrop to Mr. Bradford, as followeth :—

Worthy Sir,

I received your loving letter, but straightness of time forbids me, for my desire is to acquaint you with the Lord's great mercy towards us, in our prevailing against his and our enemies, that you may rejoice and praise his name with us. About fourscore of our men, having coasted along towards the Dutch Plantation, sometimes by water but most by land, met here and there with some Pequots, whom they slew, or took prisoners. Two sachems they took and beheaded; and not hearing of Sasacus, the chief sachem, they gave a

prisoner his life to go and find him out; he went and brought them word where he was; but Sasacus suspecting him to be a spy, after he was gone, fled away with some twenty more to the Mohawks, so our men missed of him; yet dividing themselves, and ranging up and down, as the providence of God guided them, for the Indians were all gone, save three or four, and they knew not whither to guide them, or else would not; upon the thirteenth of this month, they lighted upon a great company, namely, eighty strong men, and two hundred women and children, in a small Indian town, fast by a hideous swamp, which they all slipped into, before our men could get to them.

Our captains were not then come together; but there was Mr. Ludlow and Capt. Mason, with some ten of their men, and Capt. Patrick, with some twenty or more of his, who, shooting at the Indians, Capt. Trask, with fifty more, came soon in at the noise. Then they gave order to surround the swamp, it being about a mile round; but Lieut. Davenport, and some twelve more, not hearing that command, fell into the swamp among the Indians. The swamp was so thick with shrubs, and boggy withal, that some stuck fast, and received many shot.

Lieut. Davenport was dangerously wounded about his armhole, and another shot in the head, so as fainting, they were in great danger to have been taken by the Indians; but sergeant Riggs and sergeant Jeffery, and two or three more, rescued them, and slew divers of the Indians with their swords. After they were drawn out, the Indians desired parley, and were offered by Thomas Stanton, our interpreter, that if they would come out and yield themselves, they should have their lives that had not their hand in the English blood. Whereupon the sachem of the place came forth, and an old man or two, and their wives and children, and so they spake two hours, till it was night. Then Thomas Stanton was sent to them again, to call them forth, but they said they would sell their lives there; and so shot at him so thick, as, if he had not been presently relieved

and rescued, on his crying out, they would have slain him.

Then our men cut off a place of swamp with their swords, and cooped up the Indians into a narrow compass, so as they could easier kill them through the thickets. So they continued all the night, standing about twelve foot one from another, and the Indians, coming up close to our men, shot their arrows so thick, as they pierced their hat-brims, and their sleeves and stockings, and other parts of their clothes; yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as not one of them was wounded, save those three who rashly went into the swamp as aforesaid. When it was near day it grew very dark, so as those of them that were left, dropped away, though they stood but twelve or fourteen foot asunder, and were presently discovered, and some killed in the pursuit. In the searching of the swamp the next morning, they found nine slain, and some they pulled up, whom the Indians had buried in the mire; so as they do think that of all this company not twenty did escape, for they afterwards found some who died in the flight, of their wounds received. The prisoners were divided, some to those of the river, and the rest to us of these parts. We send the male children to Bermuda, by Mr. William Pierce, and the women and maid children are disposed about in the towns. There have been now slain and taken in all, about seven hundred, the rest are dispersed, and the Indians, in all quarters, so terrified, as all their friends are afraid to receive them. Two of the sachems of Long Island came to Mr. Stoughton, and tendered themselves to be under our protection; and two of the Nepannet sachems have been with me to seek our friendship. Among the prisoners we have the wife and children of Mononotto, a woman of a very modest countenance and behaviour. It was by her mediation, that the two English maids were spared from death, and were kindly used by her. One of her first requests was, that the English would not abuse her body, and that her children might not be taken from her. Those

which were wounded we fetched soon off, by John Gallop, who came with his boat in a happy hour, to bring them victuals, and to carry their wounded men to the bark, where our chief surgeon was, with Mr. Wilson, being about eight leagues off. Our people are all in health, the Lord be praised. And although they had marched in their arms all the day, and had been in fight all the night, yet they professed they found themselves so, as they could willingly have gone to such another business. The captains report, we have slain thirteen sachems, but Sasacus and Mononotto are still living. This is the substance of what I have received, though I am forced to omit many considerable circumstances. So being in much straightness of time, the ships being to depart within this four days, and in them the Lord Lee and Mr. Vane; I here break off, and with hearty salutation, etc., I rest,

Your assured friend,

JOHN WINTHROP.

July 28, 1637.

To conclude the discourse of this matter, this Sasacus, the Pequot sachem, being fled to the Mohawks, they cut off his head, and some other of the chief of them, whether to satisfy the English, or rather the Narragansets, who, as I heard, hired them to do it, or for their own advantage, I know not.

And thus this war took end; the body of this people were wholly subdued, and their country taken from them, and such of its inhabitants as had escaped the heat of our revenge, by fire and sword, being nevertheless at the dispose of the conquerors, whereby the English, appointed some to the Narragansets and some to the Monhegans, under Unkas their sachem, who had been faithful and serviceable to them in this war; yet the Narragansets were not pleased that themselves had not the sole government of the captives, and have since been continually quarrelling with the Monheags, and have sometimes been plotting against the English also; but to conclude, the Pequots have since been taken

under the immediate government of the English colonies, and live in their own country, being governed by such of their own, as are by the English substituted and appointed for that purpose.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, and Mr. John Jenny, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. John Davenport, accompanied with divers other Christians of special eminency, began the fourth of the united colonies in New England called New Haven,[1] where they erected a church of Christ, which continue in gospel order until this day, in an amiable and exemplary manner; notwithstanding they have met with divers losses and crosses, both of eminent and useful instruments, as also of a great part of their estates, as in special by the loss of Mr. Lamberton's ship. Of which said plantation and colony, I have little to insert, for want of more full and certain intelligence.

About this time there arose great troubles in the country, especially at Boston, by the broaching of antinomian and familistical opinions; the chief sect-leader thereof was one Mrs. Hutchinson. These carried on their abominable tenets, with such subtilty, under a pretence of advancing free grace, and crying up the covenant of grace, and down the covenant of works; as they took away, by their assertions, grace from the covenant; yea, so close was this mystery of iniquity carried on, as that some of the prudentest of the ortho-

[1] Called by the Dutch Rocabert, and by the Indians Quinnapiuk.—M.

This colony was united with Connecticut in 1662. Mather says, "Annexation had the concurrence of some leading men, though the minds of some others were so uneasy about coalition, that it was some time after the arrival of the charter (1665) before the union took place; for the colony, like Jephthah's daughter, took time to bewail its condition, before it would quietly be complied withal."

dox party, could not discern it at the first; but at length, the folly of those that were principal therein was made manifest unto all men. The evil consequences thereof faced very sadly, so as it influenced into their civil state, and caused great disturbance; but by God's blessing on the improvement of the faithful endeavours of his servants, the messengers of the churches, who were called together as a synod to help in the case; together with the prudence and industry of sundry principal ones amongst them, both in church and state at other times, a right understanding of some few things, in difference amongst the sincere and godly, was procured.[1] The ringleaders of the faction being thus detected were censured, not only by the church, but by the civil power, and were also condemned to exile; who, not knowing

"Behold what a great matter a little fire kindleth." "The contention," says Dr. Mather, "spread itself into families, and from thence into all the general affairs of the public."

The questions were about the order of things in our union with our Lord Jesus Christ: about the influence of our faith in the application of his righteousness: etc. Gov. Hutchinson says, the town and country was distracted with these subtleties, and every man and woman who had brains enough to form some imperfect conception, inferred and maintained some other point, such as these, "A man is justified before he believes;" "faith is no immediate cause of justification." The fear of God and love of our neighbour seemed to be laid by and out of the question. The whole church at Boston, with few exceptions, was under the influence of Mrs. Hutchinson. The account of her trial discovers nothing but what might be expected from a high degree of enthusiasm. Mr. Cotton seems to have been in danger when she was on trial. Not long after, in a sermon at a fast, he confessed and bewailed the churches, and his own security and credulity, by means of which so many dangerous errors had spread, and showed how he came to be deceived. (See Hutchinson, 59–74.) Many of the church were disfranchised and banished. Mrs. Hutchinson with others went to Rhode Island. The greater part were permitted to return, and filled places of honour and trust in church and state. Mrs. Hutchinson and her numerous family removed to some part of New York, where they, all but one, were slain by the Indians. Gov. Hutchinson says, "It is evident not only by her trial, but by many other public proceedings, that inquisition was made into men's private judgments, as well as into their declarations and practice."—Vol. i. p. 75. See also Winth. *Jour.*, Mather's *Mag.*, Cal. *Hist.*, and Dr. Elliot's *Eccl. Hist.*

where they might sit down safely, made requests unto the government of Plimouth, that they might be at an island, that they had not hitherto improved, called by the Indians Aquetnet, and, by the English inhabiting it, Rhode Island, which the government of Plimouth, aforesaid, considering they were their countrymen and fellow-subjects that were thus distressed and destitute of habitation, although they had their errors in as great dislike as those from whence they came, yet pitying them in their present straits, granted their request; so these, having there seated themselves, and finding that it was a very fruitful and pleasant place, such indeed as that colony or jurisdiction hath not any the like left within their patent, they soon drew many more unto them, not only to fill up that island, but have also seated two more towns on the main;[1] therein, as is judged, encroaching upon the rights of the aforesaid colony of Plimouth, and have of late through misinformation obtained a patent, not only for the places forementioned, but have also extended it into the heart and bowels of the known and possessed rights of the said colony, endeavouring to requite their kindness, as sometimes it is said the hedgehog did by the friendly coney. But it is our great happiness, that as God takes notice from on high of the unrighteousness and oppression of the sons of men, so he hath given us a gracious Prince, who minds the peace of his meanest subjects, from whose justice and prudence we do confidently expect relief, and on that assurance, do resolve, by God's help, to contain ourselves from seeking to vindicate our wrongs in such a way as their injurious dealings might provoke unto.

[1] Roger Williams obtained a patent for Providence Plantations in 1643, but it did not extend into the heart or bounds of Plymouth colony. Probably the secretary wrote by anticipation. In 1663 the colony of "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations" obtained a charter which *did* so extend, by which Bristol, Tiverton, Little Compton, and a great part of Swanzey and Barrington, which were before within the chartered limits of the Old Colony, were made part of that government. See Hutch. *Hist. Mass.* and Hazard's *Collections.*

This year there was a hideous monster born at Boston, in New England, of one Mrs. Mary Dyer, a copartner with the said Mrs. Hutchinson, in the aforesaid heresies; the said monster, as it was related to me, was without head, but horns like a beast, scales or a rough skin like the fish, called the thornback; it had legs and claws like a fowl, and in other respects as a woman child; the Lord declaring his detestation of their monstrous errors, as was then thought by some, by this prodigious birth.

Not long before these troubles, there arrived at Boston, one Samuel Gorton, who from thence came to Plimouth; and upon his first coming thither, gave some hopes that he would have proved an useful instrument, but soon after, by little and little, discovered himself to be a proud and pestilent seducer, and deeply leavened with blasphemous and familistical opinions; and observing such fictions to be spread by some of his spirit already in the country, he takes his opportunity to begin to sow such seed at Plimouth, whereby some were seduced, in special one John Weeks and his wife, who in some short time became very atheists, looking for no more happiness than this world affords, not only in practice such, but also in opinion. But the said Gorton falling into some controversy with one Mr. Ralph Smith, was summoned to the court held at Plimouth, the fourth of December, 1638, to answer the said Mr. Smith's complaint; and there he carried so mutinously and seditiously, as that he was for the same, and for his turbulent carriages towards both magistrates and ministers, in the presence of the court, sentenced to find sureties for his good behaviour, during the time he should stay in the jurisdiction, which was limited to fourteen days, and also amerced to pay a considerable fine. In some short time after he departed to Rhode Island, and in like manner, or worse, demeaned himself there, so as they were forced to sentence him to suffer corporal punishment by whipping, and they banished him likewise off the island. And from thence, he, with divers of his accomplices, went to

Providence, and there he and they carried so in outrage and riotously, as they were in danger to have caused bloodshed, so as the inhabitants, some of them, namely, Mr. Roger Williams and others, were constrained to solicit the government of the Massachusetts for aid, to help them against their insolencies; and for that end some of them desired to come under their jurisdiction, and were accepted. Moreover, several of the poor neighbouring natives were so injuriously wronged by the said Gorton and his company, they seeking to bereave them of their just rights of land by surreptitious ways; [1] in special, Ponham and Sokanoko, two petty sachems living not far off from Providence, who were bereaved of their just rights in lands, by improving the tyranny of Miantonimok, the then chief sachem of the Narragansets, for the procuring thereof, which necessitated the said under sachems to make their appeal to the court of the Massachusetts for help in their oppressed condition, subjecting themselves and their lands unto their jurisdiction likewise; which caused the said government to require their appearance at Boston, to answer the complaints of those oppressed English and Indians. But notwithstanding they several times sent to them, with all gentleness and courteous expressions, they neither appeared, nor sent satisfying reasons for their absence; but instead thereof, many insolent, proud, railing, opprobrious returns; so that the said government saw there was no remedy, but to send force to constrain them to come; which they accordingly performed, and committed the said Gorton and several of them to ward. And during the time of their imprisonment, they carried still very proudly and audaciously towards all in place of authority, sparing not to reproach, abuse, and traduce the most honourable and reverend both in church and state; and which is yet worse, spared not blasphemously to fly upon the

[1] The answer of Mr. E. Winslow to Gorton's Pamphlet, entitled "Simplicity's Defence against the seven-headed Policy," will give the reader a full and particular intelligence concerning all the transactions of those matters, and likewise of their damnable errors.—M.

Lord Jesus himself, his word and ordinances, in such a manner as scarce in any age any heretics or apostates have done the like; not only abandoning and rejecting all civil power and authority, except moulded according to their own fancies, but belching out errors in their familistical allegories, if I may so call them, as, to speak with holy reverence, they rendered the Lord Christ no other than an imagination; shunning not, blasphemously, to say, that Christ was but a shadow, and resemblance of what is done in every Christian; that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and was the image of God wherein Adam was created; and that his being born afterwards of the Virgin Mary, and suffering, was but a manifestation of his suffering in Adam; that man's losing God's image was the death of Christ; that Christ is the covenant properly, and, that faith and Christ are all one. They call the holy word, and sermons of salvation, tales; the Lord's supper, an abomination, and a spell; baptism, vanity and abomination; the ministers of the word, necromancers; and by other opprobrious terms vilify and traduce them. Much more might be spoken and mentioned of this stuff, which they have not been ashamed to divulge; but a little is enough, save but to give the reader to see the Lord's goodness towards his poor people in New England, that hath delivered us, and saved us of his grace from their pernicious, destructive ways, and hath so detected their folly, as it is made manifest to all men. In fine, the said Gorton and his fellow-prisoners were, several of them, sentenced to remain in durance, in several of the towns in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, for six months, and afterwards banished.

He was a subtle deceiver, courteous in his carriage to all, at some times, for his own ends, but soon moved with passion, and so lost that which he gained upon the simple. To shut up what I have to say concerning him, which is sad, he is since become a sordid man in his life, as he hath been declared to be in his cursed principles and opinions, and hath not shunned to say and affirm, that all the felicity we are like to have, we

must expect in this life and no more, and therefore advised one, with whom he had some speech, to make much of herself, for she must expect no more but what she could enjoy in this life, or words to the same effect. Thus evil men and deceivers grow worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. 2 Tim. iii. 13.[1]

1638.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Jenny, Mr. John Atwood, and Mr. John Brown, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year three men were executed for robbing and murdering an Indian near Providence, which, besides the evidence that came against them, they did in sub-

[1] Gorton. There is some disagreement in the narratives of early historians respecting this man. Judge Eddy, when secretary of the state of Rhode Island, says, that he had read the records of the colony from the beginning till after the death of Gorton; that from the first establishment of the government, he was almost constantly in office, and that during his long life, there is not an instance of any reproach or censure cast upon him, or any complaint against him.

Mr. Callender, who wrote more than a century ago, says, "it is hard to tell what Gorton's religious sentiments were, as he wrote in a mysterious dialect, but that there is sufficient reason why we cannot and ought not to believe all that has been fathered upon him," and he says, "the treatment of him in Massachusetts was severe and scandalous." Gov. Hutchinson says, "the sentence against him was cruel." In a letter to Secretary Morton, after the *Memorial* was printed, Gorton very solmenly denies that he ever called the Holy Word and sermons of salvation tales, or any of the ordinances of the Lord an abomination, or holy ministers necromancers. "I appeal," says he, "to God, the judge of all secrets, that there was never such a thought entertained in my heart." We will not decide on these conflicting statements, but refer the reader to Neal's *Hist. of Purit.*, i., p. 227; Callender's *Hist.*, 38; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ix. 35, 36; Hutch. *Hist. Mass.*, vol. i. 112–118.

Gorton lived to a great age, officiated as a minister, and published several books. He died in 1676.

stance confess against themselves, and were condemned by legal trial. Some have thought it great severity to hang three English for one Indian; but the more considerate will easily satisfy themselves for the legality of it; and, indeed, should we suffer their murderers to go unpunished, we might justly fear that God would suffer them to take a more sharp revenge. By such arguments was the government of Plimouth moved by the government of the Massachusetts to do justice in the case. And here may be noted, that the Massachusetts refused this trial, as being committed in the jurisdiction of Plimouth; and they of Rhode Island, having apprehended them, delivered them to the aforesaid jurisdiction of Plimouth, on the same grounds.

This year, about the second of June, there was a great and fearful earthquake. It was heard before it came with a rumbling noise, or low murmur, like unto remote thunder. It came from the northward, and passed southwards. As the noise approached near, the earth began to quake; and it came at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes, and such like things which stood upon shelves, to clatter and fall down; yea, people were afraid of their houses; and it was so, as that some, being without doors, could not stand, but were fain to catch hold of posts and pales to prevent them from falling. About half an hour after, or less, came another noise and shaking, but not so loud nor so strong as the former. It was not only on the land, but at sea also; for some ships that were on the sea-coast were shaken by it. So powerful is the mighty hand of the Lord, as to cause both the earth and sea to shake, and the mountains to tremble before him. His way is in the whirlwind, and the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet, the rocks are thrown down before him. Who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? Nahum i. 3–6.[1]

1 "Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear weather, the wind westerly, there was a great earthquake. It came with a noise like a continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches in

1639.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. John Jenny, were chosen assistants.

This year Harvard College was erected at Cambridge, in New England, which was so called in remembrance of a worthy gentleman, who liberally contributed towards the charge of the erecting of it.[1]

This year the great sachem Woosamequen, sometimes called Massasoiet, and Mooanam his son, came into the court held at Plimouth, in New England, on the five and twentieth day of September, in their own proper persons, and desired that the ancient league and

London, but was presently gone. It was at Connecticut, at Narraganset, at Piscat, and all the parts round about. It shook the ships which rode in the harbour, and all the islands. The noise and shaking continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet twenty days after by times."—Winth. *Jour.*

[1] "After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for, and looked after, was, to advance learning, and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust; and as we were thinking, and consulting how to effect this great work, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly gentleman, and a lover of learning, there living among us) to give one-half of his estate (it being in all about one thousand seven hundred pounds) towards the erecting of a college, and all his library. After him another gave three hundred pounds. Others after them cast in more; and the public hand of the state added the rest. The college was (by common consent) appointed to be at Cambridge (a place very pleasant and accommodate), and is called (according to the name of the first founder) Harvard College."—*Hist. Coll.*, i. 242.

"A printing-house was begun at Cambridge, March, 1639, by one Daye. The first thing which was printed was the Freeman's oath. The next year was an Almanack, made for New England, by Mr. Pierce, mariner; the next was the Psalms, newly turned into metre."—Winth. *Jour.*

confederacy formerly made with the government of Plimouth aforesaid, wherein he acknowledged himself subject to the king of England, and his successors, may stand and remain inviolable. And the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son,[1] for themselves and their successors, did faithfully promise to keep and observe the covenants and conditions therein expressed and contained, which, on their parts, are likewise to be kept and observed. And the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son, did then also promise to the whole court aforesaid, that he nor they shall or will needlessly or unjustly raise any quarrels, or do any wrong to other natives, to provoke them to war against him; and that he or they shall not give, sell, or convey any of his or their lands, territories, or possessions whatsoever, to any person or person whomsoever, without the privity and consent of the government of Plimouth, aforesaid, other than to such as the said government shall send or appoint. All which conditions the said Woosamequen and Mooanam his son, for themselves and their successors, did then faithfully promise to observe and keep. And the whole court, in the name of the whole government, for each town respectively, did then likewise ratify and confirm the aforesaid ancient league and confederacy. And did also further promise to the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son, and their successors, that they shall and will from time to time defend the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son, and their successors, when need and occasion shall require, against all such as shall unjustly rise up against them to wrong or oppress them unjustly.

1640.

Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr.

[1] He that is here called Mooanam, is the same that, afterwards, was called Wamsutta; it being usual for the Indians to change their names.—M. He was afterwards called Alexander.

William Collier, Mr. John Brown, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected assistants.

1641.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Edward Freeman, were chosen assistants to him in government.

1642.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Thomas, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected assistants to him in government.

In reference unto the three years last specified, although I have no special providence to take notice of, particularly to assign to each of them, save the continuance of God's mercy and goodness in the annual election of godly and able magistrates in the jurisdiction of Plimouth, as is before noted; yet notwithstanding we are to take notice of the continued peace and plenty, with which not only these three years, restrictively considered, but also for many years together, both before and after them, New England was so marvellously gratiated. But that which is more, that about these times the Lord was pleased of his great goodness, richly to accomplish and adorn the colony of Plimouth, as well as other colonies in New England, with a considerable number of godly and able gospel preachers, who then being dispersed and disposed of, to the several churches and congregations thereof, gave light in a glorious and resplendent manner, as burning

and shining lights. Which mercy and transcendent favour, had not sin and satan's envy interposed, might have rendered them greatly happy and prosperous; it being observed, that where gospel dispensation flourisheth, there prosperity, in other respects, may usually be expected.

In reference unto the honour of God, and due respects unto such worthy instruments, I thought meet to nominate some of the specialist of them, namely :—

Mr. Charles Chauncy, Mr. William Hooke, Mr. Nicholas Street, Mr. John Laythrop, Mr. John Mayo, Mr. John Reyner, Mr. Ralph Partridge, Mr. Samuel Newman, Mr. William Leverich, Mr. Richard Blinman, Mr. Edward Bulkly, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Marmaduke Matthews,[1] with some others that might be named.

[1] Mr. Chauncey preached to the Plymouth church for several years, and was afterwards president of Harvard College.

Of Mr. Hooke and Mr. Street, a full account may be found in *The Taunton Ministry*, vol. i. Mr. Hooke was their first pastor, and after seven years became pastor in New Haven, and afterwards returned to England, where he experienced the special favour of Cromwell. Mr. Street succeeded Mr. Hooke at Taunton, and also at New Haven. Dr. Bacon speaks of him as "pious, judicious, and modest, and no inferior preacher."

Mr. Lathrop is afterwards spoken of in the *Memorial;* he was pastor at Southwark, England, and at Scituate in Plymouth colony, and removed with the church to Barnstable. (See notice of him under the year 1653.)

Mr. Mayo was pastor in Barnstable, and afterwards teacher in the second church, Boston.

Of Mr. Reyner an account is given in the notice of the Plymouth church, of which he was pastor.

Mr. Partridge was first pastor in Duxbury. Mather says, "we had been hunted like a partridge on the mountains, by the ecclesiastical *settlers*, and had no defence, neither beak nor claw, but a flight over the ocean."

Mr. Newman was the first minister of Rehoboth, and was the author of a concordance, "which he revised by the light of pine knots."

Mr. Blinman was minister of Marshfield, their first. He preached at several other places, and returned to England.

Mr. Miller and Mr. Matthews were both settled at Yarmouth.

Mr. Bulkley was settled at Marshfield after Mr. Blinman.

Biographies of these ministers are in the *Magnalia*, and *Biog. Dict.*

These some of them staid not long ere they removed, some into the neighbour colonies, some into Old England, and others to their eternal rest, whereby the said jurisdiction was wanting, in a great measure, for some time, of such a blessing. Howbeit, the Lord hath since graciously raised up a supply to divers of the said congregations, and more may be expected according to his promises.

1643.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. Edmund Freeman, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year, about the eighteenth day of April, died Mr. William Brewster, the ruling elder of the church of Christ at Plimouth; concerning whom, I could say much of mine own knowledge; but I shall content myself only to insert the honourable testimony that Mr. William Bradford, deceased, hath left written with his own hand, concerning him.

Saith he, my dear friend, Mr. William Brewster, was a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus, and the gospel's sake, and hath borne his part in weal and woe, with this poor persecuted church, above thirty-six years, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness; and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling. And notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age; he was four score and four years of age when he died. He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed in peace amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministered what help and comfort they could unto him; and he again recompensed them while he could. His sickness was not long, and until the last day thereof, he did not wholly keep his

bed; his speech continued until somewhat more than half a day before his death, and then failed him, and about nine or ten of the clock that evening he died without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gasping, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

I would now demand of any, what he was the worse for former sufferings? What, do I say worse? No, he was the better; and they now added to his honour. It is a manifest token, saith the apostle, 2 Thess. i. 5–7, of the righteous judgment of God, that we might be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer; seeing it is a righteous thing with God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you that are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels. And if you be reproached, saith the apostle Peter, 1 Pet. iv. 14, for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory and of God shall rest upon you. What though he wanted the riches and pleasures of the world in this life, and pompous monuments of his funeral? yet the memorial of the just shall be blessed, when the name of the wicked shall rot, Prov. x. 17, with their marble monuments. He was well educated in learning, as at inferior schools, so also at the university;[1] and from thence went to the court, and there served Mr. Davison, a godly gentleman, and secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, and attended him on his embassage into Holland, and was employed by him in matters of great trust; as in keeping of the keys of the cautionary towns delivered up to him for her majesty, and things of the like nature. His master would always in private confer with him as a friend or equal. He

1 Elder Brewster had a considerable library. The books were appraised, after his decease, by Gov. Bradford, Mr. Prince, and Rev. Mr. Reyner The whole number was two hundred and seventy-five, of which sixty-four were in the learned languages. They were valued at forty-three pounds.

afterwards lived in good esteem in his own country, and did much good, until the troubles of those times inforced his remove into Holland, and so into New England, and was in both places of singular use and benefit to the church and people of Plimouth, whereof he was; being eminently qualified for such work as the Lord had appointed him unto; of which, should I speak particularly, as I might, I should prove tedious; I shall content myself, therefore, only to have made honourable mention in general of so worthy a man.

And here I might take occasion to mention, with admiration, the marvellous providence of God, that notwithstanding the many changes and hardships that this people, namely, the first planters at New Plimouth, went through, and the many enemies they had, and difficulties they met withal, that so many of them should live unto very old age. It was not only this reverend man's condition, but many more of them did the like; some dying before and about this time, and some living, who attained to sixty years of age, and to sixty-five, divers to seventy, and some to more than eighty, as he did. It must needs be more than ordinary, and above natural reason that so it should be; for it is found in experience, that changing of air, famine, and unwholesome food, much drinking of water, sorrows and troubles, etc., all of them are enemies to health, causes of much diseases, consumers of natural vigour and the bodies of men, and shortness of life; and yet, of all these things they had a large and long part, and suffered deeply in the same. They went from England to Holland, where they found both worse air and diet than that they came from; from thence, enduring a long imprisonment in the ships at sea, into New England, and how it hath been with them here hath already been shown; and what crosses, troubles, fears, wants, and sorrows they have been liable unto, is easily to be discerned, so as in some sort they may say with the apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, "They were in journeys often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of their own nation, in perils amongst the heathen, in

perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils amongst false brethren; in weariness, in painfulness, in watching often, in hunger, in thirst, in fasting often, in cold and nakedness." What was it then that upheld them? It was God's visitation that preserved their spirits; he that upheld the apostle upheld them, 2 Cor. iv. 9, "They were persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but perished not; as unknown, and yet known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and yet not killed."

God, it seems, would have all men behold such works of his providence, as these are towards his people, that they, in like cases, might be encouraged to depend upon him in their trials, and also bless his name when they see his goodness towards others. "Man lives not by bread alone." Deut. viii. 3. It is not by dainty fare, peace, rest, and heart's ease, in enjoying contentments and good things of this world only, that preserves health and prolongs life. God, in such examples, would have the world take notice that he can do it without them; and if the world will shut their eyes, and take no notice thereof, yet he would have his people to see and consider it. Daniel could be in better liking with pulse, than with the king's dainties. Jacob, though he went from one nation to another people, and passed through famine, fears, and many afflictions, yet he lived unto old age, and died sweetly, and rested in the Lord, as many others of God's servants have done, and still do, through God's goodness, notwithstanding all the malice of their enemies, "When the branch of the wicked shall be cut off before his day, and the bloody and deceitful man shall not live out half his days." Job xv. 32; Psal. lv. 23.[1]

1 The editor here extracts from *The View of Plimouth*, and from Judge Davis's note on the death of Elder Brewster, a list of names which exhibit the longevity of some of the first settlers of Plymouth, who arrived before the year 1631.

TIME OF DECEASE.		AGE.
1664	William Brewster, ...	80
1664	Julian Kempton (widow of Manasses), . .	81

By reason of the plotting of the Narragansets, ever since the Pequot war, the Indians were drawn into a

TIME OF DECEASE.		AGE.
1667	Gabriel Hallowell,	83
1668	John Downham (Deacon),	80
1670	Alice Bradford (widow of the governor),	80
1672	John Howland,	80
1673	Thomas Prince,	73
1673	Elizabeth Warren (widow of Richard),	90
1675	Ann Tupper (Sandwich),	97
1675	Dorothy Brown (Swanzey),	90
1676	Thomas Tupper (Sandwich),	97
1678	Edward Bangs (Eastham),	86
1685	Nathaniel Morton (Secretary),	73
1687	Robert Finney (Deacon),	80
1683	Mary Carpenter,	90
1689	George Watson,	86
1689	Priscilla Cooper,	91
1691	Thomas Cushman (Elder),	84
1692	John Downham (son of the Deacon),	79
1697	Thomas Clark (mate of the *Mayflower*),	98
1699	Mary Cushman (widow of the Elder),	90
1704	George Bonham,	95
1705	Samuel King,	90
1710	Phebe Finney (widow of the Deacon),	91
1688	Samuel Eddy,	87
1682	Elizabeth Eddy,	81

We find a similar longevity among the first planters in Massachusetts, and of the other New England Colonies; a few instances will be mentioned.

In Massachusetts.

	AGE.		AGE.
Richard Bellingham,	82	Rev. Thomas Parker,	82
Ezekiel Chever,	94	President Chauncey,	82
Simon Bradstreet,	94	Rev. Nehemiah Walter,	84
Rev. John Higginson,	93	Rev. John Ward,	88
Rev. John Elliot,	86	Rev. Samuel Whiting,	83
Rev. Thomas Mayhew,	93	Rev. John Woodbridge,	82

In Rhode Island.

Roger Williams,	84	William Coddington,	78
Samuel Gorton,	80		

In Connecticut.

Rev. James Fitch,	80	Major John Mason,	78

In the succeeding generation, instances of greater longevity have

general conspiracy against the English in all parts, as was in part discovered the year before, and now made more plain and evident, by many discoveries and free confessions of sundry Indians upon several occasions, from divers places, concurring in one; with such other concurring circumstances as gave the English sufficiently to understand the truth thereof, and to think of means how to prevent the same. In which respect, together with divers other and more weighty reasons, the four colonies, namely, the Massachusetts, Plimouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, entered into a more near union and confederation, the nineteenth day of May, 1643. And the articles of the said confederation were signed by the commissioners of the said jurisdictions respectively, by which were authorized thereunto, namely:—

John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts, Thomas Dudley, Edward Winslow, William Collier, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Grigson, Theophilus Eaton, George Fenwick.[1]

occurred. Elder John Faunce, of the first generation from the first planters, died at Plymouth, in 1745, aged 99. His daughter, Patience Kempton, died at New Bedford, in 1779, aged 105 years and six months. Ephraim Pratt, grandson of Joshua Pratt, one of the first comers at Plymouth, died at Shutesbury, county of Worcester, in 1804, aged 116. Ebenezer Cobb, who was born in Plymouth, and died in Kingston in 1801, aged 107 years and eight months, was of the third generation.

1 A confederation of the New England colonies, for mutual aid and defence in matters of general concern, had been for several years in agitation before it was accomplished. It was not only domestic, but foreign enemies that induced this confederation, which may well be called the embryo of the Constitution of the United States. The names of the first commissioners from Plymouth, were Gov. Winslow and Mr. Collier. They met, at first, once a year, alternately at Boston, Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven, but afterwards, once in three years. The articles of confederation may be seen in Hutchinson, vol. i. 118–119. It is said the union subsisted until 1686, when the charters of the colonies were vacated.

These commissioners were made the dispensers of the bounty of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians; and the English government countenanced and encouraged both objects. The letters of Charles the Second take notice of this confederacy

The said articles at large, with sundry other particulars appertaining thereunto, together with the particulars concerning the plotting contrivements, menacings, and insolencies of the Narragansets against the English, together with the provision and preparation made by the English for an expedition against them, with the yieldings and compliance of the said Narragansets to the English, composition and articles of agreement made with them, etc., these are all to be seen as they are at large extent in the records of the commissioners for the united colonies of New England, whereunto I refer the reader.[1]

1644.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Thomas, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

This year Mr. John Atwood died. He was a godly man, singularly endowed with the grace of patience, and having a large estate, became a useful benefactor to the colony of New Plimouth. He departed this life expressing great faith in Christ, and a cheerful expectation of the restoration of his body at the general resurrection in glory.

This year many of the town of Plimouth, by reason of some straits that were upon them, took up thoughts of removing to some other place, for their better accommodation, and for that end made a more exact and particular discovery of a place called by the Indians Nauset; which place being purchased by them of the Indians, divers of the considerablest of the church and

without any objection to its establishment.—*Ibid.* It seems to have been a kind of Congress: the representation was two from each colony.—Trumb. *Hist. of Conn.*, i., p. 124; Winth. *Jour.*

[1] See Acts of the Commissioners for the United Colonies of New England, Anno 1644, and 1645.—M.

town removed thither, and erected a town, which is now called by the name of Eastham.[1]

1645.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

The commissioners of the united colonies of New England were called together this year, before their ordinary time of meeting,[2] partly in regard of some differences between the French and the government of the Massachusetts, about their aiding of Monsieur Latore and Monsieur de Aulney, and partly about the Indians, who had broken their former agreements about the peace concluded the year before; as concerning such conclusions and determinations which passed in this meeting, in reference to the premises, I shall refer the reader unto the acts of the said commissioners for that year, as they are recorded at large.[3]

1 This place was called Nauset, and the east side of the town still retains that name. The church having caused an exploration of the place, and made the purchase of the land of the natives, the court granted or confirmed to "the church, or those of them who go to dwell at Nauset, all the tract of land lying between sea and sea, from the purchased bounds of Namsheket to Heringbrook, at Billingsgate." The first settlers were but seven families, of which Gov. Prince was one, and though the removal was much regretted by the church, it became the means of securing the friendship and improvement of the numerous Indians in the vicinity, so that they took no part in the subsequent wars against the English. The church at Eastham was the third from the Plymouth church.—*Hist. East.*, 12, 13.

2 This meeting was held the 28th of July, 1645.—M.

3 See Hutch. *Hist. Mass.*, i. 120–127; Winth. *Hist. N. E.*, 267. For particulars relating to the interposition of the commissioners between the Narragansets and the Mohegans, see Hutch. *Hist. Mass.*, i. 129, etc.

1646.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. Edward Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

About the middle of May, this year, there came three men-of-war into Plimouth harbour, under the command of Captain Thomas Cromwell, who had taken several prizes from the Spaniards, by commission from the earl of Warwick. They were full of moneys, silks, and other rich goods, some of which they left behind them. They were a company of lusty, stout men, but very unruly and hard to govern; notwithstanding the care and vigilance both of such as were in authority of Plimouth, and also of their own commanders, who could hardly restrain them, especially from inordinate drinking and quarrelling. It proved fatal to one of them, who being quarrelling with one of their own company, and being commanded by their own captain to forbear, he giving very provoking language, and also attempting to draw upon his captain; he took his rapier from him, and struck him on the head with the hilt, of which wound, three or four days after, he died. The captain was tried by a council of war, and acquitted by the largeness of his commission.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow went for England, upon occasion that some discontented persons, under the government of the Massachusetts, sought to trouble their peace, and disturb, if not innovate their government, by laying many scandals upon them, and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning and complaining to the parliament. Also Samuel Gorton and his company, made complaint against them; so as they made choice of Mr. Winslow to be their agent to make their defence, and gave him commission and instructions for that end, in which he so carried himself, as did well answer their ends, and

cleared them from any blame and dishonour, to the shame of their adversaries. After this he fell upon other employment in England, which detained him there, so as he returned not again to New England any more, whose absence hath been much to the weakening of the government of New Plimouth, who had large experience of his help and usefulness amongst them in government, etc., of whom I have more to insert, in honour of so worthy a gentleman, in its more proper place.

1647.

Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were elected his assistants in government.

This year the whole land, but more especially the church and town of Hartford on Connecticut, sustained a great and more than ordinary loss, by the death of that most eminent servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, who, in the month of July in this year, changed this life for a better; concerning whose piety, learning, and singular dexterity in preaching the gospel with answerable success, the many souls wrought upon by his ministry, in both Old England and New, do give forth a large testimony; and withal, as an addition to the former, those learned and profitable works penned by him for the refutation of error, and guiding and confirming of the saints in the ways of Christ. In which respects, with others, his name will live and is embalmed; and doth remain, and will be as a precious ointment in the churches, and amongst the saints in present and future ages.

This special servant of Christ, as he served his master with great zeal, love, wisdom, and sincerity, so he ended his life with much comfort and serenity; so as it is rare that was said of him, that the peace which

he had in believing, thirty years before his death, was firm, and not touched by the adversary, until the period of his life; and with much joy and peace in believing, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at Hartford on Connecticut.

In whose memorial, I shall here insert the funeral elegies of two eminent divines, written upon his death.

On my reverend and dear brother, Mr. Thomas Hooker, late pastor of the church at Hartford on Connecticut.

To see three things was holy Austin's wish,
Rome in her flower, Christ Jesus in the flesh,
And Paul i' the pulpit: lately men might see,
Two first, and more, in Hooker's ministry.

Zion in beauty is a fairer sight,
Than Rome in flower, with all her glory dight:
Yet Zion's beauty did most clearly shine
In Hooker's rule and doctrine; both divine.

Christ in the spirit is more than Christ in flesh,
Our souls to quicken, and our states to bless!
Yet Christ in spirit brake forth mightily,
In faithful Hooker's searching ministry.

Paul in the pulpit, Hooker could not reach,
Yet did he Christ in spirit so lively preach;
That living hearers thought he did inherit
A double portion of Paul's lively spirit.

Prudent in rule, in argument quick, full;
Fervent in prayer, in preaching powerful;
That well did learned Ames record bear,
The like to him he never wont to hear.

'Twas of Geneva's worthies said, with wonder,
(Those worthies three) Farell was wont to thunder;
Viret, like rain, on tender grass to shower;
But Calvin, lively oracles to pour.

All these in Hooker's spirit did remain,
A son of thunder, and a shower of rain,
A pourer forth of lively oracles,
In saving souls, the sum of miracles.

Now blessed Hooker, thou art set on high,
Above the thankless world, and cloudy sky;
Do thou of all thy labour reap thy crown,
Whilst we here reap the seed which thou hast sown.

J. C.[1]

[1] Mr. Hooker died at Hartford, of an epidemical fever, in the sixty-second year of his age. The elegiac lines, recited in the

A lamentation for the death of that precious and worthy minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, who died July 7, 1647, as the sun was setting. The same hour of the day died blessed Calvin, that glorious light.

Come sighs, come sorrows, let's lament this rod,
Which hath bereaved us of this man of God;
A man of God, who came from God to men,
And now from them is gone to God again.
Bid joy depart, bid merriment be gone;
Bid friends stand by, sit sorrowful alone.
But ah! what sorrow can be to suffice,
Though heaven and earth were filled with our cries,
The clouds were turned into drops of tears,
The mourning for to last an age of years?
'Twere all too little to lament his death,
Whose life so precious was for heaven and earth.
Job wish'd his day might quite forgotten be,
Which brought him forth this world's light first to see.
O let not the day be numbered in th' year,
That took this light out of our hemisphere.
A fatal day, a day of sad presage
To us survivors of this present age.
The hour of thy decease, when sun went down,
When light turn'd dark, when heavens began to frown;
'Tis ominous to us who saw his light,
That grace provok'd should turn our day to night;
And gospel's light which shineth from on high,
Should clouded be, and darkened in our sky.
O happy days, when such lights shine on earth!
O bitter days, when they are hid beneath!
This is our grief, he who late shin'd on high,
Is hid in grave, and now beneath doth lie.
Let Hartford sigh, and say, I've lost a treasure;
Let all New England mourn at God's displeasure,
In taking from us one more gracious
Than is the gold of Ophir precious.
Sweet was the savour which his grace did give,
It season'd all the place where he did live.
His name did as an ointment give its smell,
And all bear witness that it savoured well.

Memorial, were written by the Rev. John Cotton. A full account of Mr. Hooker is given in the *Magnalia*, with a tribute to his memory in Latin verse, by Mr. Elijah Corlet, an eminent schoolmaster at Cambridge. Mr. Hooker's writings were in such repute, that Mr. John Higginson, says Dr. C. Mather, transcribed from his manuscripts nearly two hundred sermons, which were sent to England for publication: "But by what means I know not," he adds, "scarce half of them have seen the light to this day."—*Magnal.*, iii. 57–68.

Wisdom, love, meekness, friendly courtesy,
Each moral virtue, with rare piety,
Pure zeal, yet mixt with mildest clemency,
Did all conspire in this one breast to lie.
Deep was his knowledge, judgment was acute,
His doctrine solid, which none could confute.
To mind he gave light of intelligence,
And searched the corners of the conscience.
To sinners stout, which no law could bring under,
To them he was a son of dreadful thunder,
When all strong oaks of Bashan us'd to quake,
And fear did Lebanus his cedars shake;
The stoutest hearts he filled full of fears,
He clave the rocks, they melted into tears.
Yet to sad souls, with sense of sin cast down,
He was a son of consolation.
Sweet peace he gave to such as were contrite;
Their darkness sad he turned to joyous light.
Of preaching he had learn'd the rightest art,
To every one dividing his own part.
Each ear that heard him said, He spake to me:
So piercing was his holy ministry.
His life did shine, time's changes stain'd it not,
Envy itself could not there find a spot.
Had he survived to finish works begun,
'T had been a blessing to all Christendom.
Then should the world have known what God had show'd him,
And what themselves for all his works had ow'd him.
But this unthankful age is now cut short
Of that rich treasure, 'cause they car'd not for 't:
O that his love may turn us, yet to prize
The blesssings yet enjoyed; herein be wise;
Lest that which he not long ago foretold,
Be now in us fulfill'd as 'twas of old,
That wantonness of churches, would bereave
Them of their ministers, without their leave,
God plaguing this his messenger's contempt,
With this soul 'stroying plague and punishment.
But whatsoever wrath doth us abide,
Whatever plague for sin doth us betide;
Yet thou, O blessed saint, art now at rest,
I' th' bosom of thy Christ, which is the best;
Bathing in rivers of divine pleasure,
Which is at God's right hand, most sweet and pure;
Tasting the fruit of all thy labours spent,
To honour God, which was thy whole intent.
From God thou camest forth, who sent thee hither.
And now hath called thee back to live together.

Him didst thou serve while life and breath did last,
With Him now blest, while life and breath is past.
Sense of our loss would call thee back again.
But out of love, we bid thee there remain,
Till we yet left behind our course fulfil,
To meet thee on the top of Zion's hill;
When thou and we shall both rejoice together,
So fast united as no death shall sever;
Both to sing praises to our heavenly king,
Who hath us saved from death's poisonous sting,
And will restore our bodies from the grave,
Which them to dust of death consumed have;
Making them shine like brightness of the sun
With glory, ne'er to end when once begun.
Let heaven and earth, angels and men him praise,
Sounding his glory past all length of days.

P. B.[1]

1648.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen assistants to him in government.[2]

1649.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Mr. John Winthrop, governor of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, deceased, the twenty-sixth day of March, about ten of the clock. He was

[1] These initials, probably, were meant to indicate the Rev. Peter Bulkley, first minister of Concord.

[2] The synod which was convened in 1646, and had continued its meetings, by adjournments, was dissolved in this year. The Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline was composed and adopted by this assembly.

singular for piety, wisdom, and of a public spirit. He brought over a great estate into the country, and partly by his liberality, and partly by the unfaithfulness of his baily, spent the most part of it; so as when he died, he was but low in that respect; and yet notwithstanding, very much honoured and beloved of the most, and continued in the place of governor, for the most part, until his death, which was much lamented by many. He was a man of unbiased justice, patient in respect of personal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the saints, especially able ministers of the gospel; very sober in desiring, and temperate in improving earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and studious of general good. His body was, with great solemnity and honour, buried at Boston, in New England, the third of April, 1649.[1]

This year some part of the country was much troubled with innumerable hosts of caterpillars, which destroyed the fruits of the earth, in divers places, and did eat off the leaves of trees, so as they looked as bare as if it had been winter; and in some places did eat the leaves from off the pease-straw, and did not eat the pease. It pleased God to give them a check, and a rebuke, so as they hurt but in some places, and of his goodness in a short time removed them.

This year, August 25, that faithful and eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Shepard, died, who was a soul-searching minister of the gospel, and pastor of the church of Christ at Cambridge. By his death, not only that church and people, but also all New England, sustained a very great loss. He not only preached the gospel profitably and very successfully, but also hath left behind him divers worthy works of special use, in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul to God ward; the benefit thereof, those can best experience, who are most conversant in the improvement of them, and have God's blessing on them therein to their

[1] Gov. Winthrop died at the age of sixty-three. His life and character are ably delineated in the *American Biography*, vol. ii. 337–358. See *Magnalia*, ii. 13.

soul's good. His body was honourably buried at Cambridge in New England.[1]

"Blessed are the dead, that die in the Lord, for their works do follow them." Rev. xiii. 13.

This year there passed an act of parliament in England, for the promoting and propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ among the Indians in New England. In reference unto the furtherance and advancement of so good a work, a corporation of sixteen select men were appointed, consisting of a president, treasurer, and assistants, called by the name of the President and Society for the propagation of the Gospel in New England; to receive such sums of money, as from time to time was, or should be collected and raised, by the liberal contributions of such as whose hearts God was pleased to stir up to so glorious a work. And it was by the same parliament enacted, that the commissioners for the united colonies of New England, for the time being, by themselves or such as they shall appoint, shall have power and authority to receive and dispose of the said moneys brought in and paid to the said treasurer for the time being; or any other moneys, goods, or commodities, acquired and delivered by the care of the said corporation at any time; whose receipt or receipts of such person or persons so authorized by them, shall be a sufficient discharge to the said corporation and treasurer. The particulars of such orders and instructions, with which the said act is invested, the reader may be more amply satisfied in, by the perusal thereof, as it is extant, bearing date, July 27, 1649.

Moreover, let the reader take notice of the special favour of Almighty God, in moving the heart of the king's majesty, since his restitution to his crown and regal dignity, particularly of his royal favour to countenance this work, and to secure what hath been, and what

[1] Mr. Shepard arrived at Boston in 1635, and succeeded Mr. Hooker, at Newtown (afterward Cambridge), on the removal of Mr. Hooker to Connecticut. He died in the forty-fourth year of his age. See *Life of Shepard* prefixed to his works, published by Cong. Board of Pub.

may be given toward this work, by a legal settlement, which before was wanting; so as the said glorious design hath been vigorously carried on, both in Old England and in New, by such active and faithful instruments as God hath raised up and improved therein, with some considerable success. The work coming on to such perfection, as that the Holy Bible is translated and printed in the Indian language, whereby the glad tidings of the gospel is, and may be communicated to them with the greater facility; some souls also of them being gained, as may be hoped, to believe on the Lord Jesus for life everlasting; and daily hopes of further and greater success in that behalf, for which unspeakable riches of his grace, let his holy name have all the praise throughout all ages.

The principal instruments improved in preaching the gospel of Christ unto the Indians, are, Mr. John Elliot, sen., Mr. John Elliot, jun., Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Mr. Pierson, Mr. Brown, Mr. James, and Mr. Cotton, besides divers of their own nation, whose names and number I know not.[1]

[1] The reader will be interested to learn more fully the disposition and labours of these men in regard to the natives. Mr. Symonds, a gentleman of rank and influence, from Essex in England, addressed a letter to Gov. Winthrop in 1646, expressing what he regarded as the divine purposes in the settlement of New England, one of which was the conversion of the natives to the Christian faith and practice. Many good and benevolent men in this country and in England had been deeply impressed with the obligations expressed in the Massachusetts charter, to incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith. And Gov. Hutchinson regarded the long neglect of attempts in this direction as inexcusable. And the Indians themselves asked, "how it happened, if Christianity were of such importance, that, for six and twenty years, the English had said nothing to them about it?" But at length good men were impressed with a sense of their obligation in this matter, and this work was commenced and pursued with true Christian zeal and fidelity. And the history of these early Indian missions are instructive and suggestive in regard to the Aborigines remaining in the land.

1650.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year there was more than ordinary mortality in the country, especially about Boston, and mostly among their children. (New diseases the fruits of new sins.) Since which time, several diseases have been in the country more frequently than formerly; as namely, gripings in the bowels, with violent vomiting and purging, which hath taken away many; as also a disease in the mouth or throat, which hath proved mortal to some in a very short time; as also great distempers of colds, etc., which ought to be awakening dispensations, together with others, to cause us to consider and examine whether we have not provoked the Lord with some general and unwonted sins; inasmuch as he is pleased to exercise the country oftentimes with unwonted afflictions and punishments.

1651.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Mr. William Thomas expired his natural life in much peace and comfort. He served in the place of magistracy, in the jurisdiction of Plymouth, divers years; he was a well-approved and a well-grounded Christian, well read in the Holy Scriptures, and other approved authors, and a good lover and approver of godly ministers and good Christians, and one that had

a sincere desire to promote the common good, both of church and state. He died of a consumption, and was honourably buried at Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth.

1652.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year that blessed servant of God, Mr. John Cotton, died. He was sometimes preacher of God's word at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and from thence came over into New England, in the year 1633, and was chosen teacher of the first church of Christ at Boston. (Of Mr. Cotton's life, Mr. Norton hath penned a book, whereunto I refer the reader for more full relation of the same.) For which function and office he was greatly enriched with gifts and abilities, being an able expounder and faithful applier of the word of God; furnished also with wisdom and prudence to go before the church, in the ordering of the affairs thereof; endowed also with meekness of spirit, whereby he was fitted to compose such differences as did at any time arise amongst them. He was very patient also in respect unto personal wrongs and injuries done unto himself, yea, towards his sharpest antagonists. An influence of good, not only flowed from him unto the church over whom he was set, but also into all the churches in New England, as necessity required. About the time of his sickness, there appeared in the heavens, over New England, a comet, giving a dim light; and so waxed dimmer and dimmer, until it became quite extinct and went out; which time of its being extinct, was soon after the time of the period of his life: it being a very signal testimony, that God had then removed a bright star, a burning and a shining light out of the heaven

of his church here, unto celestial glory above. He was buried at Boston, in New England, with great honour and lamentation, in the year above written.

Upon whose never enough deplored death, were made these verses following :—

A Funeral Elegy upon the death of the truly Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late teacher of the church of Christ at Boston, in New England.

And after Winthrop's, Hooker's, Shepard's hearse,
Doth Cotton's death call for a mourning verse?
Thy will be done. Yet, Lord, who dealest thus,
Make this great death expedient for us.
Luther pulled down the Pope, Calvin the prelate slew:
Of Calvin's lapse, chief cure to Cotton's due.
Cotton, whose learning, temper, godliness,
The German Phœnix, lively did express.
Melanchthon's all, may Luther's word but pass;
Melanchthon's all, in our great Cotton was.
Than him in flesh, scarce dwelt a better one;
So great's our loss, when such a spirit's gone.
Whilst he was here, life was more life to me;
Now he is not, death hence less death shall be.
That comets, great men's deaths do oft forego,
This present comet doth too sadly show.
This prophet dead, yet must in's doctrine speak,
This comet saith, else must New England break.
Whate'er it be, the heavens avert it far,
That meteors should succeed our greatest star.
In Boston's orb, Winthrop and Cotton were;
These lights extinct, dark is our hemisphere.
In Boston once how much shin'd of our glory,
We now lament, posterity will story.
Let Boston live,[1] who had and saw their worth;
And did them honour, both in life and death.
To him New England trust in this distress,
Who will not leave his exiles comfortless.

J. N.

Upon the tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late teacher of the church of Boston, in New England.

Here lies magnanimous humility,
Majesty, meekness, Christian apathy

[1] Probably the Rev. John Norton, at that time minister of Ipswich, and who succeeded Mr. Cotton, as minister of the first church in Boston.

On soft affections; liberty in thrall;
A noble spirit, servant unto all.
Learning's great masterpiece; who yet could sit
As a disciple at his scholar's feet.
A simple serpent, or serpentine dove,
Made up of wisdom, innocence, and love,
Neatness embroider'd with itself alone;
And civils canonized in a gown:
Embracing old and young, and low and high;
Ethics embodied in divinity.
Ambitious to be lowest, and to raise
His brethren's honour on his own decays.
Thus doth the sun retire into his bed,
That being gone, the stars may show their head.
Could wound at argument without division;
Cut to the quick, and yet make no incision;
Ready to sacrifice domestic notions
To churches peace and minister's devotions.
Himself indeed (and singular in that)
Whom all admired, he admired not.
Liv'd like an angel of a mortal birth,
Convers'd in heaven while he was on earth:
Though not, as Moses, radiant with light,
Whose glory dazzled the beholders' sight;
Yet so divinely beautified, you'd count
He had been born and bred upon the mount.
* A living, breathing Bible; tables, where
* Both covenants at large engraven were;
* Gospel and law in's heart had each its column,
* His head an index to the sacred volume.
* His very name a title-page; and next,
* His life a commentary on the text.
* O what a monument of glorious worth,
* When in a new edition he comes forth,
* Without erratas, may we think he'll be,
* In leaves and covers of eternity'!
A man of might at heavenly eloquence,
To fix the ear and charm the conscience;
As if Apollos were revived in him,
Or he had learned of a Seraphim.
Spake many tongues in one: one voice and sense
Wrought joy and sorrow, fear and confidence.
Rocks rent before him, blind received their sight;
Souls levell'd to the dunghill, stood upright.
Infernal furies burst with rage to see
Their pris'ners captiv'd into liberty.
A star, that in our Eastern England rose,
Thence hurry'd by the blast of stupid foes,
Whose foggy darkness, and benumbed senses,
Brook'd not his dazzling fervent influences.

Thus did he move on earth from east to west;
There he went down, and up to heaven for rest.
Nor from himself, whilst living, doth he vary,
His death hath made him an ubiquatary:
Where is his sepulchre is hard to tell,
Who in a thousand sepulchres doth dwell;
(Their hearts, I mean, whom he hath left behind,)
In them his sacred relique's now enshrin'd.
But let his mourning flock be comforted,
Though Moses be, yet Joshua is not dead:
I mean renowned Norton; worthy he
Successor to our Moses is to be,
O happy Israel in America,
In such a Moses, such a Joshua.

B. W.[1]

1653.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen his assistants in government.

Mr. Thomas Dudley, who was a principal founder and pillar of the colony of the Massachusetts, in New England, and sundry times governor and deputy-governor of that jurisdiction, died at his house in Roxbury, July 31, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a person of quick understanding, and solid judgment in the fear of the Lord. He was a lover of justice, order, the people, Christian religion, the supreme virtues of a good magistrate. 1. His love to justice appeared at all times, and in special upon the judgment-seat, without respect of persons in judgment; and in his own particular transactions with all

[1] The Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, D.D., the first graduate of Harvard College. He returned to England, and succeeded the Rev. Dr. Twiss, at Newbury. His professional and literary character and acquirements were in high estimation in both countries. The lines distinguished by asterisms, are quoted by Mr. Allen, in his biographical account of Mr. Cotton, with a conjecture, that they probably suggested to Dr. Franklin his celebrated epitaph upon himself.

men, he was exact and exemplary. 2. His zeal to order appeared in contriving good laws, and faithfully executing them upon criminal offenders, heretics, and underminers of true religion. He had a piercing judgment to discover the wolf, though clothed with a sheepskin. 3. His love to the people was evident in serving them in a public capacity many years, at his own cost, and that as a nursing father to the churches of Christ. 4. He loved the true Christian religion, and the pure worship of God, and cherished, as in his bosom, all godly ministers and Christians. He was exact in the practice of piety, in his person and family, all his life. In a word, he lived desired, and died lamented by all good men.

The verses following were found in his pocket after his death, which may further illustrate his character, and give a taste of his poetical fancy; wherein, it is said he did excel.

Dim eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach show
My dissolution is in view;
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing die:
My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my deed is done;
My span is measur'd, tale is told,
My flower is faded and grown old,
My dream is vanish'd, shadow's fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead;
Farewell dear wife, children and friends,
Hate heresy, make blessed ends;
Bear poverty, live with good men,
So shall we meet with joy again.

Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch;
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's, I died no libertine.[1]

This year Mr. John Laythrop did put off his earthly

[1] Mr. Dudley was an estimable character, though sometimes unduly severe. His want of toleration was characteristic of the age. But, says Dr. Holmes, "With strong passions he was still placable and generous."

tabernacle. He was sometimes preacher of God's word in Egerton in Kent, from whence he went to London, and was chosen pastor of a church there. He was greatly troubled, and imprisoned, for witnessing against the errors of the times. During the time of his imprisonment, his wife fell sick, of which sickness she died. He procured liberty of the bishop to visit his wife before her death, and commended her to God by prayer, who soon after gave up the ghost. At his return to prison, his poor children, being many, repaired to the bishop to Lambeth, and made known unto him their miserable condition by reason of their good father, his being continued in close durance; who commiserated their condition so far, as to grant him liberty, who soon after came over into New England, and settled for some time at the town of Scituate, and was chosen pastor of their church, and faithfully dispensed the word of God amongst them. And afterwards, the church dividing, a part whereof removed to Barnstable, he removed with them, and there remained until his death. He was a man of a humble and broken heart and spirit, lively in dispensation of the word of God, studious of peace, furnished with godly contentment, willing to spend, and to be spent, for the cause of the church of Christ. He fell asleep in the Lord, November 8, 1653.[1]

1654.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen assistants to him in government.

[1] The Rev. John Lothropp (as the name is written by himself), arrived at Boston in 1634, and, soon afterward, settled in the ministry at Scituate. His removal to Barnstable was in 1639. The name is variously spelt. Rev. Dr. Lathrop of Boston, was his great-grandson. See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i.

1655.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year that worthy and honourable gentleman, Mr. Edward Winslow, deceased; of whom I have had occasion to make honourable mention formerly in this discourse. He was the son of Edward Winslow, Esq., of the town of Draughtwich,[1] in the county of Worcester. He, travelling into the low countries, in his journeys fell into acquaintance with the church of Leyden, in Holland, unto whom he joined, and with whom he continued until they parted to come into New England, he coming with that part that came first over, and became a very worthy and useful instrument amongst them, both in place of government and otherwise, until his last voyage for England, being sent on special employment for the government of the Massachusetts, as is aforementioned in this book; and afterwards was employed as one of the grand commissioners in that unhappy design against Domingo in Hispaniola, who taking grief for the ill success of that enterprise, on which, together with some other infirmities that were upon him, he fell sick at sea, betwixt Domingo and Jamaica, and died the eighth day of May, which was about the sixty-first year of his life, and his body was honourably committed to the sea, with the usual solemnity of the discharge of forty-two pieces of ordnance.

One of the company, who was employed in taking notice of the particulars of that tragedy, gave such testimony of the said Mr. Winslow, as followeth in this poem.

[1] Droitwick.

The eighth of May, west from 'Spaniola shore,
God took from us our grand commissioner,
Winslow by name, a man of chiefest trust,
Whose life was sweet, and conversation just;
Whose parts and wisdom most men did excel;
An honour to his place, as all can tell.[1]

1656.

Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Capt. James Cudworth, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Capt. Miles Standish expired his mortal life. He was a gentleman, born in Lancashire, and was heir apparent unto a great estate of lands and livings, surreptitiously detained from him; his great-grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish. In his younger time he went over into the low countries, and was a soldier there, and came acquainted with the church at Leyden, and came over into New England, with such of them as at the first set out for the planting of the plantation of New Plimouth, and bare a deep share of their first difficulties, and was always very faithful to their interest. He growing ancient, became sick of the stone, or stranguary, whereof, after his suffering of much dolor-

[1] The *Memorial* and all our historians exhibit Gov. Winslow as a man of activity and well-directed energy. His writings respecting the early concerns of the country, the natives, and the church, are interesting and reliable. He managed the foreign relations of the colonies with so much ability, that Cromwell claimed his services in the government of England, and appointed him on several important commissions, in the performance of one of which, in the West Indies with Admiral Penn, he died. His home and family estate here were in Marshfield, and it was held in the family for more than two centuries. It afterwards became the property and home of the late Daniel Webster. His descendants are very numerous.

ous pain, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at Duxbury.[1]

1657.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Capt. James Cudworth, Capt. Josiah Winslow, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen his assistants in government.[2]

This year it pleased God to put a period to the life of his precious servant, Mr. William Bradford, who was the second governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, and continued in the same place for the most part of his time, with little intermission. Concerning whom the following poems made, the one by himself, and the other by such as were well acquainted with his worth and excellency, will give a large testimony thereof.

[1] Standish. There is little recorded of Standish after his prowess had brought the Indians to submission. Often when military action was expected and soldiers called for, he was appointed generalissimo, and he was active in military life until within three years of his death. He was also one of the assistants or council during most of his life. There is a traditionary anecdote relative to Capt. Standish and his friend John Alden. "The lady who had gained the affections of the captain is said to have been Priscilla Mullins. John Alden was sent to make proposals in behalf of Standish. The messenger, though a pilgrim, was then young and comely, and the lady expressed her preference by the question, 'Prithee, John, why do you not speak for yourself?' The captain's hope was blasted, and the frank overture soon ended in the marriage of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins, from whom, it is said, are descended all of the name of Alden in the United States."

Standish's descendants are very numerous in the Old Colony and elsewhere. It is said, "Duxborough have a manor in England as their right of inheritance, and has for a long time been held in abeyance for the heirs at law."

[2] This election was on the 5th of June. Gov. Bradford died in May, the month before.

Certain verses left by the honoured William Bradford, Esq., governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, penned by his own hand, declaring the gracious dispensations of God's providence towards him in the time of his life, and his preparation and fittedness for death.

From my years young in days of youth,
God did make known to me his truth,
And call'd me from my native place
For to enjoy the means of grace.
In wilderness he did me guide,
And in strange lands for me provide.
In fears and wants, through weal and woe,
A pilgrim, passed I to and fro:
Oft left of them whom I did trust;
How vain it is to rest on dust!
A man of sorrows I have been,
And many changes I have seen.
Wars, wants, peace, plenty, have I known;
And some advanc'd, others thrown down.
The humble poor, cheerful and glad;
Rich, discontent, sower and sad:
When fears and sorrows have been mixt,
Consolations came betwixt.
Faint not, poor soul, in God still trust,
Fear not the things thou suffer must;
For, whom he loves he doth chastise,
And then all tears wipes from their eyes.
Farewell, dear children, whom I love,
Your better Father is above:
When I am gone, he can supply;
To him I leave you when I die.
Fear him in truth, walk in his ways,
And he will bless you all your days.
My days are spent, old age is come,
My strength it fails, my glass near run.
Now I will wait, when work is done,
Until my happy change shall come,
When from my labours I shall rest,
With Christ above for to be blest.

By the honoured Major Josias Winslow, on the said Mr. William Bradford, as followeth:—

WILLIAM BRADFORD, ANAGR.

I made law for bridl'.
For law I made bridl'

See how God honoured hath this worthy's name,
To make it spell his virtue, and proclaim
His rare endowments, us'd for God and us:
Now such as honour God, he'll honour thus.

Both just and gentle, merciful and just;
And yet a man, and yet compos'd of dust!
Yes, God within these slender walls can find
A noble, virtuous, studious, active mind.

God was the guider of his childhood, youth;
God did preserve him ever in the truth,
And gave him grace to own him when but young,
Whom afterward he made a champion strong,

For to defend his people, and his cause,
By wisdom, justice, prudence, and by laws;
And, most of all, by his own good example,
A pattern fit to imitate most ample.

If we should trace him from the first, we find
He flies his country, leaves his friends behind,
To follow God, and to profess his ways,
And here encounters hardships many days.

He is content, with Moses, if God please,
Renouncing honour, profit, pleasure, ease,
To suffer tossings, and unsettlements,
And if their rage doth rise, to banishments.

He weighs it not, so he may still preserve
His conscience clear, and with God's people serve
Him freely, 'cording to his mind and will,
If not in one place, he'll go forward still.

If God have work for him in th' ends of th' earth,
Safe, danger, hunger, colds, nor any dearth;
A howling wilderness, nor savage men,
Discourage him, he'll follow God again:

And how God hath made him an instrument
To us of quiet peace and settlement;
I need not speak; the eldest, youngest know,
God honour'd him with greater work than so.

To sum up all, in this he still went hence,
This man was wholly God's: his recompense
Remains beyond expression, and he is
Gone to possess it in eternal bliss.

He's happy, happy thrice; unhappy we
That still remain more changes here to see:
Let's not lament that God hath taken him
From troubles hence, in seas of joys to swim.

Let's not lament his gracious life is ended,
And he to life of glory is attended;
Nor let us grieve that now God's work is done,
In making him a happy blessed one.

But let's bewail that we have so neglected
Duty to God, or men have disrespected;
With earnest lamentations let's lament;
And, whilst we may, let's seriously repent.

That we have not improved as we might,
For God, and for ourselves, this worthy wight;
And now that God hath Moses tak'n away,
Let's pray that he would give us Joshua;

To go before the camp, and to subdue
God's and his people's foes, whatever crew
Oppose our journeys to that land of rest,
Which 'till obtain'd, we're never truly blest.

And for our better progress in this course,
Let now our great necessity enforce
Each man to study peace, and to improve
His greatest strength to reunite, in love,
The hearts and the affections of us all;
Lest by our faults, God's work to th' ground should fall.

W hy mourns the people thus for me, since I
I n heavens dwell, shall to eternity?
L et not so many tears fall from my friends;
L ive holy, happy, God will recompense
I nto your bosoms all your love again,
A nd your affections whilst I did remain
M ongst you, but now you must refrain.

B ear up your hearts, dear hearts, when thoughts of me
R un in your minds, with this the time will be,
A nd every hour brings it on apace,
D ear friends, when we for ever shall embrace.
F arewell but for a season then, farewell;
O ur next embraces shall the rest excel,
R est happy, children, friends, and tender wife,
D eath but begins the godly's happy life.[1]

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1 This is what is called "Anagram," one of the species of false wit, ridiculed by Addison, *Spectator*, No. 60. It was the invention of the monks, who, in their cloisters were hard pushed for employment. It consists in "the transmutation of one word into another, or turning the same letters into different words." Thus Gov. Bradford's name is transmuted "I made law for bridle." Invention in that age, both here and in England, was strained to its utmost extension to make a good Anagram (one way of conjuring or fortune telling), generally to please, or flatter, or ridicule. Our author calls his rival "an Anagram of a man," because his limbs seemed to be displaced, or not in their proper places. Much of this, and also acrostic, another species of false wit, may be found in Mather, and some other early New England writers. Addison

A few verses more, added by one that was well acquainted with the worth of the said Mr. William Bradford.

The ninth of May, about nine of the clock,
A precious one God out of Plimouth took;
Governor Bradford then expired his breath,
Was call'd away by force of cruel death.
A man approv'd in town, in church, in court,
Who so behav'd himself in godly sort,
For the full space of thirty-seven years,
As he was means of turning many fears
Away from thee, poor Plimouth, where he spent
The better part of time that God him lent.
Well skill'd he was in regulating laws,
So as by law he could defend the cause
Of poor distressed plaintiff, when he brought
His case before him, and for help besought.
Above all other men he loved those
Who gospel truths most faithfully unclose,
Who were with grace and learning fully fraught,
Such as laboriously the gospel taught.
Willing also to own, in his due place,
The meanest saint, expressing gifts of grace.
Sweet Brewster, he is gone some time before;
Wise Winslow, whose death we lament so sore;
And faithful Standish, freed from horrid pain,
To be with Christ, in truth, the greatest gain:
Now blessed, holy Bradford, a successor
Of blessed, holy Bradford, the confessor,
Is gone to place of rest, with many more
Of precious ones, whom I might name, great store;
And commendation of each one have given;
But what needs that? their names are writ in heaven.
And now, dear Lord, let us our time improve,
To be with thee in prayer much above.
O save thy people; help in time of need;
When all means fail, be thou in room and stead
Of other helps, who fail when needed most;
When greatest need, they then give up the ghost.
And let thy servants their time still employ,
That in the end they may attain such joy
As may a fruit of true believing be,
That we with Christ may reign eternally.

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mentions a minister who anagrammatized from this text, "Adam, Seth, Enoch," transmuting the words and letters so as to reveal great mysteries, and give important instructions; and Mather says, 'Mr. Wilson, with his quiet wit upon names, would often fetch or even *force* devout instructions out of his Anagrams."

This worthy gentleman was interred with the greatest solemnities that the jurisdiction to which he belonged was in a capacity to perform, many deep sighs, as well as loud volleys of shot declaring that the people were no less sensible of their own loss, who were surviving, than mindful of the worth and honour of him that was deceased.[1] You might now easily discern a heavy heart in the mournful countenance of every sober-minded and considerate man; for as you have heard, in the three or four years last past, God was pleased greatly to weaken this poor tottering colony of Plimouth, by taking away several of the most useful props thereof, both in church and civil state; some others, who had been of singular use, now stooping under the infirmities of old age, could not be so serviceable as in times past; and others removed so far from the centre of the government, that they could not, without great difficulties, attend their public concerns, nor could possibly so constantly as our necessities required, which did greatly aggravate our troubles; we were become weak when we had need of the greatest strength; had lost many of our chieftains, when we stood in need of the best conduct and guidance. For, besides the troubles and changes that attended our native country, and might call for great circumspection in our walking in relation unto them; we had also, at this very time, some amongst us, that growing weary of the long peace and concord we enjoyed, and hoping to fish better in troubled waters, when their bait might be taken in, and the hook not easily discerned, would willingly have been ringing the changes in this jurisdiction; also pre-

1 Gov. Bradford died, May 9, 1657, in the sixty-ninth year of his age; "lamented," says Dr. C. Mather, "by all the colonies of New England, as a common father to them all." His talents, well-tempered spirit, and acquirements, are celebrated by the same learned author. The Dutch tongue, he observes, was almost as vernacular to him as the English. "The French tongue he could also manage; the Latin and the Greek he had mastered, but the Hebrew he most of all studied, because, he said, he would see, with his own eyes, the ancient oracles of God, in their native beauty."—*Magnal.*, ii. 5.

tending a great zeal for liberty of conscience, but endeavouring to introduce such a liberty of will as would have proved prejudicial, if not destructive, to civil and church societies; and at the same time there arrived in the said colony many of that pernicious sect called Quakers, whose opinions are a composition of many errors, and whose practices tend greatly to the disturbance both of church and state; many unstable people amongst us were leavened with their errors, and proved very troublesome to this as well as other colonies in New England.[1] But the Lord many times delighteth to appear in the mount of his people's miseries, distresses, and troubles, that his power and wisdom may appear when they are weakest, and that they may know that their salvation is from him. At such a time, and when the condition of this colony was such as hath been declared, God was pleased to mind it, even in its low estate, and when he had taken to himself not only our Moses, but many of the elders and worthies of our Israel, he hath not hitherto left us without a Joshua, to lead us in the remaining part of our pilgrimage. When the usual time for the renewing of our election, of such as should govern us, came, Mr. Thomas Prince was, by a unanimous vote, chosen governor; and

1 Dr. C. Mathers says, "That the more sensible men that go under the name of Quakers, found the old Foxian Quakerism so indefensible, that they have of later time, set themselves to refine it, with such confessions and concessions of truth, as that, in their system, it is quite another thing than it once was."—*Mag.* vii. 24.

The proceedings against the Quakers were far less severe in Plymouth colony than in Massachusetts. In regard to their persecution, Cotton Mather says, "If any man will appear in the vindication of it, let him do as he pleases, for my part I will not." Mr. Clarkson's *Portraiture of Quakerism*, and his *Memoirs of William Penn*, give a full view of the tenets and character of this Christian Sect. See also a Review of the *Life of Penn* in the 12th vol. of the *Christian Observer*, containing a discussion of the opinions of the sect, with references to the early extravagancies of some of its members. Some of the later Quakers, at least, do not disbelieve so much as Morton ascribes to those who first settled here. See Vindication, annexed to the Philadelphia edition of Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.*

although men's spirits were so distempered, as I have related, and it might have been expected that they would have been much divided in their choice; yet God, who disposeth the lot that is cast into the lap, so disposed that all their votes centred there; a good demonstration that he was chosen of God for us, and by his blessing made an instrument of much peace and settlement in this place, and to this people, in these times of trouble and confusion. The Lord also directing the freemen of this jurisdiction, at the same time, in their election, to the choice of a discreet and able council, to be assistant unto our said honoured governor, in this so weighty a work, divers of them being descended of several of the honoured magistrates deceased, not only bearing their names, but having a large measure of their spirit bestowed on them, befitting them for such work; so as through the goodness of God, those storms that seemed to threaten the subversion of our all, and did at first prevail, to the disturbing and shaking of many towns and churches, and to the great discouragement of the ministers in divers places, do seem to be pretty well blown over; such uncomfortable jars, as have been sometimes thought incurable, seem to be thoroughly reconciled and healed; our towns, for the most part, supplied with godly and able ministers, and we sit under our vines and fig-trees in peace, enjoying both civil and religious liberties; for which goodness of the Lord, let his holy name be praised; and may he grant us so to improve our present opportunities, as he may have some suitable returns, and we may have cause to hope in his grace for the continuance of such favours.

This year that much honoured and worthy gentleman, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, governor of New Haven, deceased, who was very eminent, both on a religious and civil account. His death proved a great blow to that jurisdiction, and was seconded, not long after, with the loss of another precious man amongst them, namely, Mr. Francis Newman.[1]

1 Mr. Eaton was one of the original patentees of Massachusetts,

In this year, 1657, in the month of November, Mr. Garret set sail on a voyage for England, from Boston; in whose ship, amongst many considerable passengers, there went Mr. Thomas Mayhew, jun., of Martin's Vineyard, who was a very precious man. He was well skilled, and had attained to a great proficiency in the Indian language, and had a great propensity upon his spirit to promote God's glory in their conversion, whose labours God blessed for the doing of much good amongst them; in which respect he was very much missed amongst them, and bewailed by them, as also in reference unto the preaching of God's word amongst the English there. The loss of him was very great. Many other sad losses befel sundry others in the country, by the loss of that ship, both in their estates and dear relations, to the great grief and saddening of the hearts of many.

1658.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William

and soon after his arrival at Boston, in 1637, was chosen one of the magistrates of the Colony. He was one of the founders of New Haven, and was annually elected governor until his death. His family was numerous, sometimes containing not less than thirty persons, and was governed with singular good order and regularity. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age. A handsome monument was erected to his memory, at the public expense, which is still in good preservation; the following lines are inscribed upon it:—

> Eaton, so meek, so wise, so fam'd, so just,
> The Phœnix of our world here hides his dust,
> His name forget, New England never must.
>
> Trumb. *Connec.*, i. 240.

Governor Hopkins of Connecticut, son-in-law of Governor Eaton, died about the same time, in England. To this gentleman, New England is indebted for his liberal bequests. His whole estate in this country, which was very considerable, was given away to charitable purposes.—Trumb. *Connec.*, i. 241.

Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willett, Capt. Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Mr. William Bradford,[1] and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were elected his assistants in government.

1 WILLIAM BRADFORD was the son of Gov. Bradford—the oldest son by his second wife. He was born at Plymouth, June 17, 1624. He settled in Kingston. He married, 1652, his first wife, Alice Richards, of Weymouth. He had two other wives and fifteen children. In 1658, the year after the death of his father, he was chosen one of the seven assistants of Gov. Prince, and was annually re-chosen for more than thirty years, until Plymouth Colony was merged in Massachusetts. After the death of Capt. Standish in 1656, he became the principal commander of the Plymouth forces. When the commissioners of the three united colonies raised troops to prosecute the war with King Philip, he was the commander of the two Plymouth companies. All the troops being assembled at Petaquamscot, in what is now South Kingston, on the west side of Narraganset Bay, they commenced their march at an early hour, December 19, 1675, in a deep snow, in order to attack the enemy, who were fortified in a swamp about fifteen miles distant. After mid-day, the assault was made on a palisaded fort. After a fierce battle of three hours, the fort was taken, five or six hundred wigwams burnt, and the Indians killed, captured, or dispersed. The English loss was sixty-five killed, among them five or six captains, and 150 wounded. The Indian loss was reckoned at a thousand, including the captured. Maj. Bradford was wounded by a ball which he carried in his body to his death. As the army returned to Wickford the same night, the wounded men, some of whom died on the way, endured great suffering, before their wounds could be dressed. From Wickford, Maj. Bradford was removed to Newport, from which place he wrote a letter to his minister, Mr. Cotton, dated January 20, 1676, in which he said—"I find some strength returning, and hopes of future returning to see you with the rest of my dear friends; however, I do desire to rest in God's good pleasure. I pray, sir, be my continual remembrance to the throne of grace. Here are many sick upon this Island and many die." Before the end of June he was able to take the command of 200 troops, one third Indians, and to march to Pocasset, or Tiverton, where Awashonks, the squaw Sachem, surrendered as she had previously agreed, with ninety of her people. On the 12th of August, King Philip was slain near Mount Hope. After this Maj. Bradford lived many years. He died Feb. 20, 1704, nearly eighty years old. His residence was on the north side of Jones river, in Kingston. According to his request, his body was interred by the side of his father in Plymouth. On his monument at "Burying Hill," the following lines are inscribed :—

This year there was a very great earthquake in New England.

Also Mr. Ralph Partridge died in a good old age, having, for the space of forty years, dispensed the word of God with a very little impediment by sickness. His pious and blameless life became very advantageous to his doctrine; he was much honoured and loved by all that conversed with him. He was of a sound and solid judgment in the main truths of Jesus Christ, and very able in disputation to defend them; he was very singular in this, that, notwithstanding the paucity and poverty of his flock, he continued in his work amongst them to the end of time. He went to his grave in peace, as a shock of corn fully ripe, and was honourably buried at Duxbury.

In whose remembrance, one who was a true admirer of his worth, presented these at his funeral.

> Not rage, but age; not age, but God's decree,
> Did call me hence, my Saviour Christ to see,
> And to embrace, and from his hand receive
> My crown of Glory. Oh! who would not leave

> "He lived long, but still was doing good;
> And in his country's service lost much blood.
> After a life well-spent, he's now at rest;
> His very name and memory is blest."

William Bradford, his grandson, was Senator of the United States from Rhode Island. He lived at Mount Hope, and died in 1808, leaving many descendants.

From Gov. Bradford have sprung many hundred descendants, among whom are many distinguished men, as Col. Gamaliel Bradford of Duxbury, who commanded a regiment in the Revolutionary War, and his son Alden Bradford, Secretary of Massachusetts, and author of several historical works. William Allen, D.D., now living at Northampton, and late president of Bowdoin College. Rev. Thomas Robbins, D.D., of Hartford, once settled in the old Colony, but of late Secretary of Connecticut Historical Society, and much devoted to antiquarian researches.

An ample genealogy of the various families of the Bradfords may be found in the N. E. Historical Register for January and July, 1850, drawn up by a descendant—Gen. G. M. Fessenden of Warren, R. I.

A flattering world, nay friends, or what's most dear,
The saint's communion that's enjoyed here,
At once to have God, Christ, saints, angels, all.
To make complete, and sum our joys total?
Now I behold God's glory face to face;
Now I sit down with Christ, who've run my race;
Now I sing praise to God, and to the Lamb;
Now I companion to the angels am.
Now I behold, with greatest joy, my sons,
And daughters all; I mean converted ones;
Which I was instrumental in my place,
To bring to God, but all of his free grace.
How am I changed that of late was weak,
Above the force of Satan now to break?
How am I changed, son of sorrow late,
But now triumphing in my heavenly state.
How was I vex'd with pains, with griefs molested?
How, in a moment, am I now invested
With royal robes, with crowns, with diadems,
With God's eternal love? Such precious gems
He hath in store for them his saints that are;
For such indeed he counts his jewels rare
Oh! brethren, sisters, neighbours, country, friends,
I'm now above you; hark to them God sends,
As yet surviving in their worthy charge;
Whose work it is God's vineyard to enlarge.
God and my conscience your experience knows,
Whilst I was with you I was one of those
That laboured faithfully God's vineyard in,
Sowing his seed, and plucking up of sin.
Now is the harvest to myself indeed;
The Lord grant a supply of one to feed
Your souls with heavenly food, and one to lead
In ways of God, until his courts you tread.
Next to God's love, my flock, love one another;
And next to Christ, preserve love to thy brother.
Let ever precious be in your esteem
God's holy word; and such as slight it deem
Of serpent's brood; whatever they pretend,
By no means to such blasphemies attend.
Decline all wand'rings, lest from all you stray,
If stept aside, return in this your day.
Keep close to God, so he that is most high
Shall you preserve as apple of his eye;
And give you peace on earth, tranquillity,
Mansions in heaven to eternity;
Where we, that death doth for a time now sever,
Shall meet, embrace, and shall not part forever.

R un is his race,
A nd his work done,
L eft earthly place,
P artridge is gone,
H e's with the Father and the Son.

P ure joys and constant do attend
A ll that so live, such is their end.
R eturn he shall with Christ again,
T o judge both just and sinful men.
R ais'd is this bird of paradise;
I oy heaven entered breaks the ice.
D eath underfoot he trodden hath;
G race is to glory straightest path,
E ver enjoys love free from wrath.

This year, on the last day of July, it pleased God that, by thunder and lightning, one John Philips, of Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, was suddenly slain.

Also, in the month of August, it pleased God to take away, by death, Mr. William Paddy, who was a precious servant of Christ, endued with a meek and quiet spirit, of a courteous behaviour to all men, and was very careful to nourish an intimate communion with God. He was instrumental in his place for common good, both in church (being sometimes by office a deacon of the church of Plimouth), and in other respects very officious, as occasion did require. He having a great temporal estate, was occasioned thereby to have abundance of business upon him, but when he was to put off his earthly tabernacle, he laid aside all his earthly incumbrances and occasions, even as one would have taken off a garment, and laid it down; and without any trouble of spirit, on that behalf, prepared himself for his journey to the everlasting mansions, prepared for him by his Lord and Master in the highest heavens, whereof he was well assured; as to the like effect he spake to Mr. Norton, near unto the period of his life; and so falling asleep in the Lord, he was buried at Boston, with honour and great lamentation, in the year and month above mentioned.

One, who was well acquainted with his worth and gracious endowments, presented this following, as a testimonal of his good respects for him.

W eep not dear wife, children, nor dear friends,
I live a life of joys that never ends.
L ove God, and fear him to end of your days;
L ive unto him, but die to sin always.
I n heavenly place of bliss my soul doth rest,
A mong the saints and angels I am blest;
M uch better here, than in the world at best.

P raising my God is now my great employ,
A bove such troubles as did me annoy.
D id but my friends know what I here possess,
D oubtless it would cause them to mourn the less;
Y our souls with mine e'er long shall meet in bliss.

1659.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Mr. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

Having noted before, that in the year 1657, there arrived in the colony of New Plimouth, many of the pernicious sect, called Quakers; the reader may take notice, that by this time, for some years after, New England, in divers parts of it, abounded with them, and they sowed their corrupt and damnable doctrines, both by word and writings, almost in every town of each jurisdiction, some whereof were, "that all men ought to attend the light within them, to be the rule of their lives and actions;" and, "that the Holy Scriptures were not for the enlightening of man, nor a settled and permanent rule of life." They denied the manhood of the Lord Jesus Christ, and affirmed, "that, as man, he is not in heaven." They denied the resurrection from the dead. They affirmed, "that an absolute perfection in holiness or grace, is attainable in this life." They

placed their justification upon their patience and suffering for their opinions, and on their righteous life and retired demurity, and affected singularity both in word and gesture.

As to civil account, they allowed not nor practised any civil respect to man, though superiors, either in magistratical consideration, or as masters or parents, or the ancient, neither by word nor gesture. They deny also the use of oaths for the deciding of civil controversies, with other abominable opinions, dreams, and conceits, which some of them have expressed, tending to gross blasphemy and atheism.

This efficacy of delusion became very prevalent with many, so as the number of them increased, to the great endangering of the subversion of the whole, both of church and commonwealth, notwithstanding the endeavours of those in authority to suppress the same, had not the Lord declared against them, by blasting their enterprises and contrivements, so as they have withered away in a great measure; sundry of their teachers and leaders, which have caused them to err, are departed the country, and we trust the Lord will make the folly of the remainder manifest to all men more and more. Error is not long-lived; the day will declare it. Let our deliverance from so eminent a danger be received amongst the principal of the Lord's gracious providences, and merciful loving-kindnesses towards New England; for the which let present and future generations celebrate his praises.

This year that learned and godly servant of God, Mr. John Dunster, fell asleep in the Lord. He was some time president of Harvard College, at Cambridge, in New England, in which he approved himself to the satisfaction of such as were in those affairs concerned. Afterwards he came into the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, and lived awhile in the town of Scituate, and was useful in helping to oppose the abominable opinions of the Quakers, forementioned, and in defending the truth against them. He deceasing in the said town

of Scituate, his body was embalmed, and removed unto Cambridge, aforesaid, and there honourably buried.[1]

1660.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year James Pierce, a young man that belonged to Boston, coming on fishing, and upon occasion putting into Plimouth harbour, it pleased God that a storm of thunder and lightning arose, and by a blow thereof he was slain of a sudden, being much scorched and burnt thereby, although his clothes were made fast and close about him; so strange was this great work to the wonderment of all that beheld it.

1 President Dunster was celebrated, particularly, for his accurate knowledge of the Hebrew language. The New England version of the Psalms, on which the Rev. Mr. Weld and Eliot, of Roxbury, and the Rev. Mr. Mather, of Dorchester, had jointly laboured, was revised and refined by President Dunster. Dr. C. Mather, though he could not commend the poetry of this performance, observes, that he had never seen a translation "nearer the Hebrew Original." In *New England's First Fruits*, published in London, 1643, President Dunster's official character and mode of instruction, are mentioned with approbation. Until the monument, which Mr. Alden suggests is contemplated, shall be erected, we must be content with the Epitaph, which we find in the *Magnalia*, originally composed for Henry Rentz, and applied by Dr. Mather to President Dunster.

"Præco, Pater, Servus; sonui, fovui, coluiq:
Sacra, Scholam, Christum; voce, rigore, fide.
Famam, Animam, Corpus; dispergit, recreat, abdit;
Virtus, Christus, Humus; laude, salute, sinu."
Magnal., iii. 99–101. *Hist. Coll.*, i. 143.

1661.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

1662.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year, upon occasion of some suspicion of some plot intended by the Indians against the English, Philip the sachem of Pocanaket, otherwise called Metacom, made his appearance at the court held at Plimouth, August 6, did earnestly desire the continuance of that amity and friendship that hath formerly been between the governor of Plimouth and his deceased father and brother; and to that end the said Philip doth for himself and his successors desire, that they might for ever remain subject to the king of England, his heirs and successors; and doth faithfully promise and engage, that he and his, will truly and exactly observe and keep inviolable, such conditions as formerly have been by his predecessors made; and particularly that he will not at any time, needlessly or unjustly, provoke or raise war with any of the natives; nor at any time give, sell, or anyway dispose of any lands (to him or them appertaining) to any strangers, or to any without our privity or appointment, but will in all things endeavour to carry peaceably and inoffensively towards the English.

And the said court did also express their willingness to continue with him and his, the abovesaid friendship, and do on their part promise, that they will afford them such friendly assistance, by advice and otherwise, as they justly may; and we will require our English at all times to carry friendly towards them. In witness whereof, the said Philip the sachem hath set to his hand, as also his uncle, and witnessed unto by sundry other of his chief men.

Witness, John Sausamen, The mark of Philip,
The mark of Francis alias Metacom.[1]
the sachem of Nauset.

1 Metacom was the Indian name of Philip, the warrior. He had an elder brother, whose name was Wamsutta. Soon after the death of their father (1656), they desired the English to give them new names, which they did. Wamsutta, who inherited the sachemdom, was called Alexander, and Metacom, Philip. Alexander reigned but a short time, his death having been hastened by the suspicions of treachery which he knew the English entertained of him. The circumstances of his death were peculiar, and may be found in Mather's *Relation*, pp. 70, 71. It seems by the text that Philip, on the death of his brother, repaired to the English, desiring the continuance of the friendship and league, which had existed between the Pilgrims and Massasoit, his father, and Alexander, after his father's death. It has been supposed that he did this the more effectually to conceal the hostile designs which he, even then, began to cherish against the English, excited, as some think, by the treatment which his brother had received from them. But this was in 1662, and the war broke out in 1675—an interval of too much length to support the opinion.

Sassamon, the witness, was called Philip's secretary—that is, wrote his letters, having been educated among the English in Massachusetts. He continued with him till the year before the war, when he left him, and, as it is said, made known Philip's designs against the English; in consequence of which (the historians relate), Philip caused him to be seized and slain. He was found concealed under the ice in Assowamsett pond. The murderers were apprehended and tried, "*de meditate linguæ*," as foreigners were tried at the common law, one half of the jurymen being Indians; and they were found guilty and executed. As one of the culprits was a counsellor of Philip, his punishment exasperated him to hasten on the contemplated war with the English. A sore war it proved to them and to his own people; to him and his people, indeed, total overthrow.

This year, on the 26th of January, at the shutting in of the evening, there was a very great earthquake, in New England, and the same night another, although something less than the former.

And again on the 28th of the same month there was another about nine of the clock in the morning.[1]

[1] In some countries earthquakes are very terrific and disastrous, and there have always been fears and agitations among the people when slight shocks have been felt in New England. Although twenty or more of them have been noticed, not more than four or five have been severe enough to excite much attention—those of 1638, 1658, 1663, 1727, and 1755. Of that in 1727, the Hon. Paul Dudley gave an account to the Royal Society, which was published in their Transactions, and much information respecting it may be obtained from the sermons on the subject, preached by several New England ministers. The last great earthquake in New England, that of November 18, 1755, was fully described, with the addition of valuable philosophical comments, by Professor Winthrop, in his Lecture at Harvard College, which was published, with the addition of copious notes, and an Appendix. The latter had reference to a theory of earthquakes, suggested by the Rev. Mr. Prince, which Dr. Winthrop considered altogether untenable; and to some strictures, made by Mr. Prince, on the Professor's manner of treating the subject, in his lecture. Dr. Williams' Observations and Conjectures on the Earthquakes of New England, published in the first volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, present a valuable collection of facts, diligently collected by the writer from various sources, with ingenious disquisitions, and judicious reflections on this obscure, but interesting subject. It is also said that a large portion of the *shakes* which have been thought *earth* quakes are mere aerial explosions or concussions, and are more properly *air* quakes.

As to the author's theory on these phenomena, we shall not undertake to give judgment upon it. Shakspeare has probably given the philosophy of his times upon them:—

> "Diseased nature oftentimes breaks forth
> In strange eruptions; oft the teeming earth
> Is with a kind of colic pinched and vexed,
> By the imprisoning of unruly winds
> Within her womb; which for enlargement striving,
> Shakes the old beldame earth, and topples down
> Steeples and moss-grown towers."

So also says a more ancient philosopher than Shakspeare:—

> "Ventos in causa esse non dubium reor."

The modern philosophers have been fertile in their theories; some consider the shock as produced by *central fires*, some by sub-

Forasmuch as I have had special occasion several times in this history to mention divers earthquakes that have been in New England, they being great and terrible works of God, and are usually ominous to some strokes and visitations of his hand unto places and people where they are; and sometimes the Lord in the very acting of his power in them, hath declared his severity to the children of men, to their great overthrow and confusion; I thought it necessary, before I pass on, a little to point at some few particulars, to work and induce us to a profitable remembrance of them; it being very considerable that is said by a useful author, in taking notice of the wisdom of God, in preparing the earth to be a fit habitation for man to dwell in, addeth withal, that as if man were not always worthy to tread upon so solid a foundation, we see it ofttimes quake and shake, and rock and rend itself, as if it showed that he which made it, threatened by this trembling the impiety of the world, and the ruin of those that dwell on the earth.

In order unto that which I have nominated in this behalf and more principally intend, let us take notice, that writers have rendered the cause of earthquakes to be, that when it happeneth that air and windy spirits and exhalations are shut up in the caverns of the earth,

terraneous waters breaking into the hollow places in the earth; some by the fortuitous concurrence of discordant mineral substances; some by electrical actions in the bowels of the earth; some think the shock is produced by a combination of these and such like causes. Probably a more satisfactory view of the subject may be attained by the advance of geological science. Gibbon thinks there is no science which can fathom the cause, and exhorts the philosophers to the exercise of modesty, although he gives intimations in favour of some of the causes which have been mentioned. It is now generally considered that the crust of the earth has not yet been entirely cooled and settled, and that the earth itself is still in a forming state, but that the violent phenomena are gradually diminishing. In New England, however, the agitations have not been violent, and it is not known that any lives have been destroyed by them, or that they have occasioned any material damage. The agitations and outbreaks of the passions of men in riots and insurrections, are far more to be feared than the throes and upheavings of "the old beldame earth."

or have such passage as is too narrow for them, they then striving to break their prisons, shake the earth, and make it tremble. They speak likewise of the several kinds of them: As:—

First, When the whole force of the wind driveth to one place, there being no contrary motion to let or hinder it; many hills and buildings have been rushed down by this kind of earthquake, especially when the wind causing it was strong; for if it be a feeble wind, it only looseneth or unfasteneth foundations, if less feeble, then, without further harm, the earth only shakes, like one sick of an ague.

Secondly, The second is a swelling of the earth; the which, when the wind is broken out of its prison, the earth returns to its place again.

Thirdly, A third kind is, a gaping, rending or cleaving of the earth one part from another, so that sometimes whole towns, cities, rocks, hills, rivers, and some parts of the sea have been swallowed up, and never seen more.

Fourthly, A fourth kind is, shaking, that causeth sinking, and is far different from the former; for now the earth splitteth not, but sinketh; this being in such places, where, though the surface of the ground be solid, yet it hath but a salt foundation, which being moistened by water driven through it by the force of the shaking exhalation, is turned into water also.[1]

Fifthly, A fifth kind of earthquake is contrary to the former; for, as before the ground sinks down, so now it is cast up, like as in the second kind already mentioned, only this is the difference, that now it returneth not to its place again, but remains a great mountain. And note, that if such a rising be in the sea, it not only causeth overflowings, but produceth likewise many islands such as were never seen before.

These particulars are treated of at large by approved

[1] Thus was the Atlantick Ocean caused to be a sea, as Plato affirmeth, who lived three hundred and sixty-six years before Christ was born.—M.

authors, and here only hinted, to the intent that we may take notice of the special providence of God to New England in this behalf, that we have not as yet felt the misery of the worst of the kinds of earthquakes forenamed, nor swallowed up in them, but those we have been sensible of have been rather gentle warnings unto us, to shake us out of our earthly-mindedness, spiritual security, and other sins, lest the Lord do come against us with judgments of this kind, in the sorest and worst sort of them, or otherwise by removing the present blessing of godly government from us.

Notwithstanding that which hath been said, the efficient cause is supernatural, as either principally God, or instrumentally the angels, although naturally the wind shut up within the pores and bowels of the earth, as is before noted.

If the effects of them usually are such, as by them is sometimes a discovery of the channels of water and foundations of the world, the removing of mountains from one place to another, the cleaving of rocks and opening of graves and gates, yea, the throwing down of many famous buildings and cities, and some swallowed up, and many thousands of people destroyed thereby; the turning of plain land into mountains; the throwing down of mountains and raising up of islands in the sea, the breaking out of rivers where there were none before; the discovery of burning mountains where there were none seen before. Famines and pestilences, of which particulars divers instances might be produced out of the Sacred Scriptures, and several other authors. Exod. xix. 18; Psal. xxix. 6, civ. 32; Matt. xxviii. 2; Psal. xviii. 15; Zech. xiv. 4; Rev. vi. 12, 14; Matt. xxvii. 51; Acts xvi. 26. Ought we not then to fear and tremble before so great a God, who (as one saith), by his handmaid nature doth so terribly shake the earth, as no land can be sure, no place so strong that can defend us? Nay, the more strong, the more dangerous; for the higher, the greater the fall. Let us therefore say with the wise man, Eccl. iii. 14, I know that whatsoever God doth, shall stand forever; nothing can

be put to it, nor anything taken from it, and God doth it, that men should fear before him.

This year Mr. John Brown ended this life; in his younger years travelling into the low countries, he came acquainted with, and took good liking to, the reverend pastor of the church of Christ at Leyden, as also to sundry of the brethren of that church; which ancient amity induced him (upon his coming over to New England) to seat himself in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, in which he was chosen a magistrate; in which place he served God and the country several years; he was well accomplished with abilities to both civil and religious concernments, and attained, through God's grace, unto a comfortable persuasion of the love and favour of God to him; he falling sick of a fever, with much serenity and spiritual comfort fell asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at Wannamoiset near Rehoboth, in the spring of the year abovesaid.[1]

1663.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Samuel Newman, teacher of the church of Christ at Rehoboth, changed this life for a better. He was sometimes preacher of God's word at Weymouth, in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, and from thence removed to Rehoboth, where he continued in the work of the ministry until the end of his days. He was a lively dispenser of the word of God, and of a pious life, very hospitable, and at the close of his life

[1] Mr. Brown lived in Rehoboth. He was a shipwright, and several of the sons of Samuel Eddy were apprenticed to him as early as 1645, 1647; the indentures are recorded in the Old Colony records. He was also one of the commissioners of the colony, from 1644 to 1655.

very full of joy and comfort; and with cheerfulness of spirit resigned himself up to the Lord, and his spirit into the arms of his blessed Redeemer, desiring that the holy angels might do their office in transporting his soul into everlasting bliss and happiness. He fell asleep in the Lord on the fifth of July, 1663.

This year also it pleased God to put a speedy period to the life of Mr. John Norton, who was a burning and a shining light; and although the church of Boston, in a more special manner, felt the smart of this sudden blow, yet it reflected upon the whole land. He was singularly endowed with the tongue of the learned, enabled to speak a word in due season, not only to the wearied soul, but also a word of counsel to a people in necessity thereof, being not only a wise steward of the things of Jesus Christ, but also a wise statesman; so that the whole land sustained a great loss of him. At his first coming over into New England, he arrived at Plimouth, where he abode the best part of one winter, and preached the gospel of the kingdom unto them; and ever after, to his dying day, retained a good affection unto them. From thence he went to Boston, and from thence to Ipswich, in New England, where he was chosen the teacher of their church; and after the death of worthy Mr. Cotton, he was solicited, and at length obtained, to return to Boston, and there served in that office until his death. He was chosen by the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, together with the much honoured Mr. Simon Bradstreet, to go over into England, as agents in the behalf of that jurisdiction, unto his Majesty and the Privy Council, upon business of greatest trust and concernment; and soon after his return, it pleased God, suddenly and unexpectedly, to take him away by death, on the fifth day of April, 1663. His body was honourably buried at Boston.[1] On whose much lamented death, take this following elegy.

[1] Mr. Norton was born in 1606. He arrived at Plymouth in October, 1635. He was an eminent scholar. Dr. Elliot quotes Mr. Fuller's approbation of his Latin letter to Apollonius, in answer to his question relative to church government. He was

An elegy on the death of that eminent minister of the gospel, Mr. John Norton, the reverend teacher of the church of Christ at Boston, who exchanged this life for a better, April 5, 1663.

Ask not the reason why tears are our meat,
And none but mourners seen in ev'ry street?
Our crown, alas, is fallen from our head;
We find it off: woe to us, Norton's dead.
Our breach is like the sea, no healing's known:
To comfort Sion's daughter is there none?
Oh teach your daughters wailing every one
Their neighbours' deepest lamentation.
Oh that mine eyes a fountain were of tears!
I'd day and night in mourning spend my years.
My father! father! Israel's chariot thou,
And horsemen wert! Sons of the prophets now,
Weep since your master from your head is taken:
This father of the muses hath forsaken
His study here, not liking our dark room,
Doth choose those mansions in his Father's home.
The schoolmen's doctors, whomsoe'er they call
Subtile, seraphic, or angelical:
Dull souls! their tapers burnt exceeding dim;
They might to school again to learn of him.
Lombard must out of date: we now profess
Norton the master of the sentences.
Scotus a dunce to him: should we compare
Aquinus here, none to be named are.
Of a more heavenly strain his notions were,
More pure, sublime, scholastical, and clear;
More like the apostles Paul and John, I wist,
Was this our orthodox evangelist.
And though an exile from his native land,
As John in Patmos was; yet here the hand
Of Christ leads forth, more clearly to espy
The New Jerusalem in her bravery.
Who more acute in judgment was than he?
More famous too for heavenly policy?
He was a wise and faithful counsellor,
One of a thousand, an interpreter.
Mighty in word and prayer, who could have
Whate'er almost from heaven he did crave:
On him, with things without (which I'll not name)
The care of all the churches daily came.
He car'd thus naturally: Oh hear that rod,
Which us bereaved of such a man of God!

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the author also of a Latin letter to Mr. Drury, who was exerting himself for a pacification of all the reformed churches, which has been much celebrated. It was signed by more than forty New England ministers.

Zealous for order, very critical
For what was truly congregational.
A pillar of our church and state was he,
But now no more, no more his face we see!
Who thought more fit of all his tribe to stand
Before our king, for favour for our land,
Lately? but now translated is to rest,
This agent of New England's interest.
When last he preach'd, he us the pattern gave
Of all that worship Christ in's church would have;
God then him up into the mount did call,
To have the vision beatifical.
As Thomas to the twelve said, Come, let's go
And die with him; I'd almost said so too:
I'll yet a while in tears sow, that I may,
With him, in joyful reapings live for aye.
A tomb now holds his soul's beloved shrine,
Of th' Holy Ghost, a temple most divine.
And well New England's heart may rent at this!
Wonder not, reader, I so greatly miss
Fit words, his worth, our loss and grief to fame,
When as no epitaph can declare the same.

T. S.[1]

Not long after, namely, in the month of July, followed the death of that eminent servant of God, Mr. Samuel Stone, who was another star of the first magnitude in the firmament of New England. He was a learned, solid, and judicious divine, equally able for the confirmation of the truth, and confutation of errors. His ministry was with much conviction and demonstration, and when he set himself to application, very powerful. He was teacher to the church of Hartford fourteen years, together with Mr. Hooker, and sixteen years after him, thirty years in all. He died on the twentieth of July, and was honourably buried at Hartford.

A Threnodia upon our churches second dark eclipse, happening July 20, 1663, by death's interposition between us and that great light and divine plant, Mr. Samuel Stone, late of Hartford, in New England.

Last spring this summer may be autumn styl'd,
Sad withering fall our beauties which despoil'd;

[1] Mr. Thomas Shepard, the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, and was minister of Charlestown.

Two choicest plants, our Norton and our Stone,
Your justs threw down; remov'd, away are gone.
One year brought Stone and Norton to their mother,
In one year, April, July, them did smother.
Dame Cambridge, mother to this darling son;
Emanuel, Northampt' that heard this one,
Essex, our bay, Hartford, in sable clad,
Come bear your parts in this Threnodia sad.
In losing one, church many lost: O then
Many for one come be sad singing men.
May nature, grace and art be found in one
So high, as to be found in few or none.
In him these three with full fraught hand contested,
With which by each he should be most invested.
The largest of the three, it was so great
On him, the stone was held a light compleat,
A stone more than the Ebenezer fam'd;
Stone splendent diamond, right orient nam'd;
A cordial stone, that often cheered hearts
With pleasant wit, with Gospel rich imparts;
Whetstone, that edgify'd th' obtusest mind;
Loadstone, that drew the iron heart unkind;
A pond'rous stone, that would the bottom sound
Of Scripture depths, and bring out Arcan's found;
A stone for kingly David's use so fit,
As would not fail Goliah's front to hit;
A stone, an antidote, that brake the course
Of gangrene error, by convincing force;
A stone acute, fit to divide and square;
A squared stone became Christ's building rare.
A Peter's living, lively stone (so reared)
As 'live was Hartford's life; dead, death is fear'd.
In Hartford old, Stone first drew infant breath,
In New, effused his last; O there beneath
His corps are laid, near to his darling brother,[1]
Of whom dead oft he sighed, Not such another.
Heaven is the more desirable, said he,
For Hooker, Shepard, and Hayne's company.

E. B.[2]

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[1] Mr. Hooker.—M.

[2] Supposed to be Edward Bulkley.

1664.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.[1]

This year a blazing star, or comet, appeared in New England, in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and the beginning of the twelfth month. Concerning which it hath been observed, that such was its motion, that, in all likelihood, it was visible to all the inhabitants of the earth; and that, also, in its motion, the blaze of it did turn to all the quarters of the world; and that by its turning according to the several aspects it had to the sun, it was no fiery meteor caused by exhalation, but that it was sent immediately by God to awake the secure world.[2]

I willingly close with that which Mr. Samuel Danforth hath religiously observed, as to the theological application of this strange and notable appearance in the heavens, that indeed by the testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, and the common histories of former ages, comets do usually precede and portend great calamities and notable changes.

To add a few more instances to those the said author hath well observed:—

When the Emperor Jovian attained to the empire (succeeding the apostate Julian, under whom the church

[1] The line between Massachusetts and Plymouth was amicably settled this year, by a committee from each colony. It is the same which separated the old county of Suffolk from the counties of Plymouth and Bristol.—Hutch., i. 209.

[2] The theory of comets, so interesting in the science of Astronomy, was now approaching to a high degree of improvement. More enlarged and just conceptions on this subject now prevail. The science of Astronomy has removed those crude and alarming apprehensions that formerly prevailed, and those mysterious strangers now receive a cordial welcome.

suffered much persecution), and that under him both church and commonwealth were like to have had a flourishing time, had he not been taken away by sudden death; then also appeared a comet, showing that further trouble was yet to be expected to the church.—[*Socrates*, lib. 4, cap. 22.]

Again, other authors make mention of a strange comet, that was seen in the year of Christ 410, being like a two-edged sword, which portended many mischiefs and calamities, that happened both in the east and west, and such great slaughters of men were, about those days, as no age ever afforded the like. All Europe was in a manner undone; no small part of Asia was affrighted; and Africa also was not void of those evils, as war, famine, drought, and pestilence, all of them strove, as it were, to trouble the whole world.

Also, in the years 1400, 1401, 1402, and 1403, comets appeared, and great calamities followed; sundry unheard of diseases were felt, rivers dried up, and plagues were increased. Tamerlain, king of the Scythians and Parthians, with an innumerable host, invaded Asia, calling himself, The wrath of God, and the desolation of the earth.—[Read *Carion*, lib. 5, page 854.]

Also, in the year 1529, appeared four comets; and in the years 1530, 1532, and 1533, were seen, in each year, one.

Languet saith, that there were three within the space of two years, upon which these, and the like calamities, followed, namely, a great sweating sickness in England, which took away great multitudes of people. The Turk in the quarrel of John Vuavoida, who laid claim to the crown of Hungaria, entered the said kingdom with two hundred and fifty thousand fighting soldiers, committing, against the inhabitants thereof, most harsh and unspeakable murders, rapes, villanies, and cruelties.

Great famine and death in Venice, and the countries thereabouts, which swept away many; the sweating sickness in Brabant, and in a great part of Germany.

Great wars likewise about the Dukedom of Millain,

between the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and Francis, the French King.

About that time, also, all Lusitania, or Portugal, was struck with an earthquake, insomuch that at Ulisippo, or Lisbon, above a thousand houses were thrown down, and sixty more so shaken that they were ready to fall; with many other evils that befel those parts about that time.

And to observe what hath fallen out since this last comet appeared, will not be unuseful, either in Europe or America.

In Europe, the great contest between our own nation and the Dutch, which hath threatened bloody war; and what will be in the conclusion is known only to God. Besides other contests between the Dutch and some other of their neighbours; as also the pestilence, very hot both in England and Holland.

In America, the late and sad blow that our countrymen, at the Isle of Christopher's, received from the French.[1] And as to ourselves in New England, although, through the mercy of our good God, there is no breaking in, nor going out into captivity, nor complaining in our streets; yet we have been threatened with invasion by foreign force, and sometimes in expectation thereof; as also we are not to slight the hand of God in his late sore strokes in taking away so many by thunder and lightning, to the great amazement and terror of many. As also, God's continued strokes in drought, blasting, and mildew, with which much of the fruits of the earth have been destroyed. All which, considered, ought to induce us to search and try our ways, and to enter into a strict and serious examination of our hearts and lives, and having found out what those sins are that are most provoking to the Majesty

1 This passage has reference to the expulsion of the English from the island of St. Christopher's by the French. "About two hundred and fifty of the inhabitants (of that island) which had been taken by the French, arriving in the spring of 1666, and more being daily expected, provision was made by the court for the relief and support of such as were necessitous."—Hutch., i. 236.

of Heaven, we may reform them, whether in church, in state, in family, or in persons; that so he may not stir up all his wrath, but yet may delight over us to do us good, from the beginning of the year to the end thereof.

This year it pleased God to smite the fruits of the earth, namely, the wheat, in special, with blasting and mildew, whereby much of it was utterly spoiled, and became profitable for nothing, and much of it worth little, being light and empty. This was looked at, by the judicious and conscientious of the land, as a speaking providence against the unthankfulness of many for so great a mercy, and their murmuring, expressed in their words, by slighting and undervaluing terms of it; as also against voluptuousness, and abuse of the good creatures of God, by licentiousness in drinking, and fashions in apparel; for the obtaining whereof, a great part of this principal grain was oftentimes unnecessarily expended. This so sad a dispensation, with other particulars, occasioned the observation of some days in a way of humiliation before the Lord, somewhat more frequently than ordinary. Let it also be observed, that yet in judgment he remembered mercy, by affording a plentiful harvest of other sorts of grain, so as the country suffered not in respect of the want of bread this year, but had plenty thereof.

This year also, his Majesty's commissioners, namely, Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq., and Samuel Maverick, Esq., arrived at Boston, in New England, in the month of July; the tenor of whose commission was, in special, to reduce the Dutch at the Manhato's to his Majesty's obedience; which, in some short time, was accomplished; and the place and jurisdiction thereof, surrendered up unto his Majesty's said commissioners, who styled it by the name of New York, and placed a government over it of his Majesty's subjects, the aforesaid Colonel Richard Nicolls being governor in chief there. And whereas they were likewise commissioned to hear and determine such differences as might be amongst the colonies, in respect unto the bounds of their jurisdictions; some

such differences were by them heard, and in special betwixt Plimouth and Rhode Island, and such settlement therein concluded as they were capacitated unto. As also sundry propositions were by them made to several of the respective jurisdictions, which, together with the agitations concerning them, and the answers unto them, are elsewhere extant.[1] They likewise presented the honoured governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, as to the colony, with a gracious letter from his Majesty, the contents whereof are as followeth :—

To our trusty and well-beloved, our Governor and Council of New Plimouth, greeting.

Charles Rex,

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We need not enlarge upon our care of, and affection to that our plantation of New Plimouth, when we give you such a testimony and manifestation of it, in the sending of those gentlemen, persons well known unto us, and deserving from us, our trusty and well-beloved Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq., and Samuel Maverick, Esq., our

[1] These commissioners were empowered "to visit the several colonies of New England, to hear and determine complaints and appeals, in matters civil, military, and criminal; and to provide for the peace and security of the country, according to their good and sound discretion, and to such instructions as they should receive from the king." See Hazard's *Coll.*, ii. 638. Colonel Nicolls had three hundred troops under his command, with four frigates, for the reduction of the Dutch at Manhattan. Gov. Stuyvesant surrendered the fort and town of New Amsterdam, on the 27th of August. The place then received the name of New York, in honour of the Duke of York. On the 24th of September, Fort Orange capitulated, and was afterwards called Albany. Thomas Clark and John Pynchon, from Massachusetts, attended the commissioners by appointment from the general court. They were also joined by Gov. Winthrop, and several of the magistrates and principal gentlemen of Connecticut. From Plymouth colony they were attended by Thomas Willet, who appears by letters now existing, to have greatly recommended himself to the commissioners by his activity and intelligence. Mr. Willet was the first mayor of New York, after the conquest.

commissioners to visit you, and other our plantations in those parts of New England, and to give us a full and particular information and account of your present state and condition, and how the same may be advanced and improved by any further acts of grace and favour from us toward you; and that both you and all the world may know and take notice, that we take you into our immediate protection, and will no more suffer you to be oppressed or injured by any foreign power, or ill neighbours, than we would suffer our other subjects that live upon the same continent with us, to be so injured and oppressed. And as our care and protection will, we doubt not, be sufficient, with God's blessing, to defend you from foreign force; so our care and circumspection is, no less, that you may live in peace amongst yourselves, and with those our other subjects who have planted themselves in your neighbour colonies, with that justice, affection, and brotherly love, which becomes subjects born under the same prince, and in the same country, and of the same faith and hope in the mercies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And to the end there may be no contentions and differences between you, in respect of the bounds and jurisdiction of your several colonies; the hearing and determining whereof we have referred to our commissioners, as the right appears by clear evidence and testimony before them, or that they can settle it by your mutual consent and agreement; otherwise, in cases of difficulty, they shall present the same to us, who will determine according to our own wisdom and justice. The address you formerly made to us, gave us so good satisfaction of your duty, loyalty, and affection to us, that we have not the least doubt that you will receive those commissioners in such manner as becomes you, and as may manifest your respect and affection towards us, from whom they are sent. They will let you know the resolution we have to preserve all your liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation; which we presume will dispose you to manifest, by all ways in your power,

loyalty and affection to us, that all the world may know that you do look upon yourselves as being as much our subjects, and living under the same obedience under us, as if you continued in your natural country. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court, at Whitehall, April 23, 1654, in the sixteenth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's special command,

HENRY BENNET.[1]

After the said his Majesty's commissioners had visited several of the jurisdictions of New England, and were courteously entertained in every of them, the said honourable Colonel Richard Nicolls is settled at New York, for the present, being governor there, as is before noted. George Cartwright, Esq., went for England, in the latter end of the year, with Mr. Benjamin Gillam, and was taken by the Dutch, and afterwards, with some difficulty, arrived in England. Sir Robert Carr is, at the present, at Delaware, and Mr. Samuel Maverick, at Boston.[2]

1665.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, and Mr. James Brown, were chosen assistants to him in government.

1 In Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers* is a copy of the commissioners' narrative and report of their proceedings to the king.

2 The said Sir Robert Carr, since that, went for England, in the year 1667. He arrived at Bristol, and died there June 1, the next day after he came ashore. About that time it was thought, by such as were judicious, that through the instigation of the said Maverick (whose spirit was full of malignity against the country), our both civil and religious liberties were much endangered; and the rather for that, probably, there would have been a concurrence of divers ill affected in the land, had not the Lord prevented.—M.

In the spring of this year, that honourable gentleman, Mr. John Endicot, governor of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, changed this life for a better. He was a very virtuous gentleman, and was greatly honoured and beloved of the most, as he well deserved. He arrived at Salem in the year 1628, and had the chief command of those that, at the first, there seated, and bare a deep share of the difficulties of those first beginnings, which were great, by reason especially of the great sickness and mortality that was then amongst them, as hath been before noted. There he continued, until the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts saw reason to desire his removal to Boston, for the more convenient administration of justice, as governor of the said jurisdiction, to which he was frequently elected, for many years together, with little intermission; and in which honourable service he served God and the country, until old age, and the infirmities thereof, coming upon him, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was, with great honour and solemnity, interred at Boston.[1]

This year it pleased God to cause a sad dispensation of his hand to pass before us, in reference to the sudden death of Captain Davenport, who, in the month of July, was slain, as he lay on his bed, with a blow of thunder and lightning. He was a man of some eminency, being betrusted with the command of the castle in the Massachusetts; at which said castle he was slain as aforesaid. The more ought this so sad stroke of God to be considered, and laid to heart, and improved for our humiliation, and the amendment of our lives before the great and terrible God, who so aloud spake unto us in this so sad and awing a providence.

This year it pleased the Lord again to strike the wheat of this country, in a more general way, than the last year, with blasting and mildew, whereby the

[1] Mr. Endicot died on the fifteenth of March, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. There is a good portrait of him in one of the apartments of the State House in Boston. There also may be seen the pictures of Winthrop, Leverett, Bradstreet, and the Rev. John Higginson.

greatest part of it was spoiled, and the ploughman's hopes, in that respect, very much frustrated. Howbeit, the Lord still mixed with this affliction very much mercy, in sparing the other grain, whereby the country was in some good measure supplied.

1666.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. John Alden, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, Mr. James Brown, and Lieut. John Freeman, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year it pleased God to go on in a manifestation of his displeasure against New England, in a very remarkable manner, by striking dead, in a moment, by a blow of thunder, three persons in the town of Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, in the month of June, namely, one named William Shirtliff, and a woman and a youth; which sad dispensation of God's hand, being considered, with some circumstances, gave cause to the beholders to be much astonished; the said Shirtliff having his wife by the hand, and sitting by her to cheer her, in respect that the said storm was so fierce, he was slain, and she preserved, though in some measure scorched with the lightning; yea, he had one of his children in his arms, and himself slain, and the child preserved. We have likewise received intelligence of four more, that about that time were slain by thunder and lightning, about Piscataqua, and divers more hurt. At the time of this storm of thunder and lightning, in the which those of Marshfield died, there arose likewise a very great whirlwind, that, where it came, it tore up trees by the roots, though through mercy it did little other hurt.

It was a great while, and many years spent, since the English came into these parts, before any very considerable hurt was done by thunder and lightning,

to either man, or beast, appertaining to them, although, sometimes, very fierce storms of that kind, as frequently as in these times. But now, how doth the Lord go on gradually, in this, as in other judgments, here in New England; first, by striking cattle, and then one person at a time, and this year divers, to the number of seven, besides some cattle also.

Thus God thundereth marvellously with his voice, he worketh great things which we know not. [Job xxxvii. 5, and xxxviii. 35, and xl. 8.] He can send the lightnings that they may walk, and say, Lo here we are. Hath any an arm like God? Or can any thunder with a voice like him? By this his terrible voice he breaketh the cedars, and divideth the flames of fire [Psalm xxix. 5, 7], which he commissionates to do his pleasure, sometimes not only striking cedars, but great oaks, in a wonderful manner, sometimes beasts, sometimes men and women. If God's judgments have thus been abroad in the earth, how ought the inhabitants of New England to learn righteousness? [Isa. xxvi. 9.] How easily can the Lord stain the pride of our glory with a stroke of his hand? Let not the familiarness or frequency of such providences, cause them to be neglected by us, to improve them as God would have us, to fear before him [Eccles. viii. 13], and to turn from such iniquities, especially, as are most displeasing unto him, and to hold our lives in our hands, and to be in a readiness for his pleasure, lest knowing not our time, as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare [Eccles. ix. 12], so we shall be snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon us.

This year the Lord threatened the country with that infectious and contagious disease, the smallpox, which began at Boston, whereof some few died; but through his great mercy it is stayed, and none of late have died thereof.

This year the Lord likewise threatened, and, in some measure, executed his displeasure upon the country by drought; but, through his mercy, hath, of late, sent

plenty of rain, for the recovering of the fruits of the earth. Although it is to be observed, that soon after a day of humiliation was observed, by some congregations, for the blessing of rain, in the drought above mentioned, that sad stroke by the thunder and lightning, at Marshfield, fell out; so that we may say with the Psalmist unto the Lord, By terrible things in righteousness thou hast answered us, O God of our salvation.

Also this year there hath been some ground of fear of invasion by foreign enemies; but hitherto the Lord hath kept us.

This year much of the wheat is destroyed with blasting and mildew, as also some other grain, by worms, and the drought aforementioned; but the Lord hath sent much rain for the recovery of the remainder, through his great mercy.[1]

This year, about the middle of July, Mr. Thomas Prince, governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Mr. John Eliot, sen., Mr. John Eliot, jun., Mr. Samuel Arnold, Mr. John Holmes, Mr. William Brimsmead, and Mr. Thomas Cushman, gave meeting to Mr. Richard Bourn, of Sandwich, in reference to the taking notice of what proficiency the Indians, under the instruction of the said Mr. Bourn, have attained unto, in the knowledge of God in Christ, and their interest in him by faith; and to make such professions or confessions as they should openly make thereof, to the glory of God, and the satisfaction of the saints, in order unto their joining into church fellowship.

And the Lord was pleased to come in unto some of them, so as they gave good satisfaction unto the said honoured and judicious persons forenamed, then assembled, in reference to the premises; so that it was concluded by them, that what had passed from the

1 This is the third year in succession, marked by the blasting of the growth of wheat, a calamity which is first noticed, in the *Memorial*, in 1664. The people were discouraged from sowing wheat.

Indians, in that behalf, should be drawn up in writing, and copies thereof exhibited to the churches of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, such of them as are neighbouring near unto them, and if nothing should be then objected, that then, in due and convenient time, they should be permitted and encouraged to enter into church fellowship, as aforesaid.

Now, although I doubt not but the passages of these things will be, in due time, published by a better pen; yet I have made bold here to insert so much as I have been informed of them, in regard that they are the first-fruits of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, that have come on to so good perfection in this kind.

This year, in the month of December, it pleased God to take unto himself, by death, that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. William Thompson, who was a lively dispenser of the word of God, and very affectionate in the delivery thereof. It pleased God to bless his labours to the conversion of many souls. He was sometime, together with Mr. Knowles, sent unto Virginia, by the elders of the churches of the Massachusetts, being requested by a message, sent by some in Virginia, for some help in preaching God's word amongst them. The fruit and benefit of whose labours therein still remaineth upon the souls of some eminent in this land. He was elected and ordained to be pastor of the church of Christ at Braintree, in New England; in which office he served Christ many years, until old age coming upon him, and the prevailing of his melancholy distemper, did in a manner wholly disable him from that service; and Satan taking advantage thereby, he was under sad desertions and trouble of spirit. At which time the reverend elders and others of the aforesaid jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, were very officious for his recovery, and, in sense of his sad condition, offered up many prayers to God for him, and, in God's good time, they received a gracious answer; so as, in his weakness and sickness, it pleased God to come in unto his soul, and to remove the cloud of darkness that was upon his spirit, so that with much peace and comfort he fell

asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at Braintree. "Mark the upright man, and behold the just; for the end of that man is peace."

1667.

Mr Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. John Alden, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, Mr. John Freeman, and Mr. Nathaniel Bacon, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year, on the last day of November, being the last day of the next week, there was heard several loud noises, or reports, as if it had been guns discharged in the air, first one, distinctly, and in a short time, as it had been a volley of shot discharged. It was especially heard and observed at Nantasket, and related by sundry of them of good credit.

In the spring following, in the beginning of March, there appeared a sign in the heavens, in the form of a spear, something thicker in the midst than at either end, of a whitish, bright colour; it was seen, several nights together, in the west, about an hour within the night; it stood stooping, and the one end pointing to the setting of the sun, and so settled downward, by little and little, until it quite vanished, and descended beneath our horizon. God awaken us that we be not heedless spectators of his wonderful works.[1]

This year, the 7th of August, it pleased the Lord to call home to himself, the reverend, ancient, and godly pastor of the church at Boston, Mr. John Wilson. He was a truly reverend and holy man of God. He came to New England in the year 1630. He was instrumental in the first beginnings of the church of

[1] This appearance is supposed to have been the zodiacal light, though some thought it the tail of a comet which was below the horizon. It was seen in several other places. All such unusual appearances were supposed to forebode evil. No doubt imagination assisted in giving it the spear-pointing form.

Boston, having been the pastor of it three years before Mr. Cotton, twenty years with him; ten years with Mr. Norton, and four years after him; thirty-seven in all. And in all the changes of time that passed over him, he was full of faith and prayer, and eminent for sincerity and humility, being ever low in his own eyes, and for the grace of love, he had largeness of heart as the sand of the sea, to do good to all. He was very charitable where was any signs and hopes of good; and yet, withal, very zealous against known and manifest evils. He was orthodox in his judgment, and very holy in his conversation. Very few that ever went out of the world so generally beloved and reverenced as this good man. He was a good man indeed, and full of the Holy Ghost. He lived to a good old age, and was full of days, and full of honour, being in the seventy-ninth year of his age, when the Lord took him to himself. He was interred with much honour and lamentation.

In the time of his languishing sickness, he was visited by the elders round about, especially on the sixteenth of May, the day after the court of election, when there being a general meeting of all the elders of the churches, at his house, they requested Mr. Wilson (because they knew not whether ever they should have the like opportunity to hear him speak again, and having been, from the first, a pillar amongst them, and of much experience in his observation of the state of things) that he would solemnly declare unto them, what he conceived to be those sins amongst us, which provoked the displeasure of God against the country. He then told them, that he had, divers times, and long feared these sins following, as chief, among others, which God was greatly provoked with, namely, Separation, Anabaptism, and Korahism.

This latter he did explain thus, namely, when people rise up as Korah, against their ministers or elders, as if they took too much upon them, when, indeed, they do but rule for Christ, and according to Christ; yet, saith he, it is nothing for a brother to stand up, and oppose,

without Scripture or reason, the doctrine and word of the elder, saying, I am not satisfied, etc., and hence, if he do not like the administration, be it baptism, or the like, he will then turn his back upon God and his ordinances, and go away, etc. And, saith he, for our neglect of baptizing the children of the church, those that some call grandchildren, I think God is provoked by it.

Another sin I take to be, the making light of, and not subjecting to the authority of Synods, without which the churches cannot long subsist. And so for the magistrates being Gallio like, either not caring for these things, or else not using their power and authority for the maintenance of the truth, and gospel and ordinances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and for the bearing thorough witness against the contrary. Should the Lord leave them hereunto, how miserable a people should we be!

At night, the assembly being dismissed with prayer, Mr. Wilson did (being desired by them so to do), in a solemn manner, bless the elders, making a short prayer, saying, "I am not like long to be with you; the Lord pardon us, and heal us, and make us more heavenly, and take us off from the world, and make us burning and shining lights, by our heavenly doctrine and example. And I beseech the Lord, with all my heart, to bless you, and to bless his churches, and to bless all his people, and to bless all your families, and to bless your wives, and to bless all your children, and your children's children; and make us all more and more meet for our inheritance, and bring us all to it in his good time," etc. These words, with some few other, he spake with great affection, and with tears; and all the ministers wept with him, and they took their leave of him, even as children of their father, who having blessed them, was about to die.

Upon the death of that reverend, aged, ever honoured, and gracious servant of Christ, Mr. John Wilson, pastor of a church in Boston. Interred August 8, 1667.

Ah! now there's none who does not know,
That this day in our Israel,

Is fall'n a great and good man too,
A Prince, I might have said as well:
A man of princely power with God,
For faith and love of princely spirit;
Our Israel's chariots, horsemen good,
By faith and prayer, though not by merit.
Renown'd for practick piety
In Englands both, from youth to age;
In Cambridge, Inns-Court, Sudbury,
And each place of his pilgrimage.
As humble as a little child,
When yet in real worth high-grown:
Himself a nothing still he stil'd,
When God so much had for him done
In love, a none-such; as the sand,
With largest heart God did him fill;
A bounteous mind, an open hand,
Affection sweet, all sweet'ning still.
Love was his life; he dy'd in love;
Love doth embalm his memory;
Love is his bliss and joy, above
With God now who is love for ay:
A comprehending charity
To all, where ought appear'd of good;
And yet in zeal was none more high
Against th' apparent serpent's brood.
To truth he ever constant was,
In judgment wond'rous orthodox;
In truth's cause never fearing face,
As if he were another Knox.
The prelates and their impositions
Did never him conformist make,
But to avoid those superstitions,
Great worldly hopes did he forsake.
When in New England, error's wind
From sundry other quarters blew;
No one could him conforming find,
Nought from the line of truth him drew
Firm stood he 'gainst the familist,
And Antinomian spirit strong;
He never lov'd the Sep'ratist,
Nor yet the Anabaptist's throng.
Neither the tolerator's strain,
Nor Quaker's spirit could he brook;
Nor bow'd to the Morellian train,
Nor children's right did overlook.
Nor did he slight our liberties,
In civil and in church concerns,
But precious were they in his eyes,
Who stood among their fixed friends.

Grave saint in England twice did give
This farewell word to him; While you
Shall in that place (New England) live,
No hurt shall happen thereunto.
Strange word, and strangely verify'd!
He this day goes to's grave in peace.
What changes sad shall us betide,
Now he is gone, we cannot guess!
What evil are we hast'ning to!
Lord, spare thy people, but awaken,
When such away do from us go,
That yet we may not be forsaken!
He a first corner-stone was laid
In poor New England's Boston's wall:
Death pulls this out, the breach is wide:
Oh, let it not now tumble all!
He's now at rest and reigns in bliss;
In conflicts we are left behind,
In fears and straits; how shall we miss
His faith, prayer, zeal, and peaceful mind.
Lord, pour a double portion
Of his sweet, gracious, pious spirit,
On poor survivors; let each one
Somewhat thereof at least inherit!
Gaius, our host, ah now is gone!
Can we e'er look for such another?
But yet there is a mansion,
Where we may all turn in together.
No moving inn, but resting-place,
Where his blest soul is gathered;
Where good men going are a pace
Into the bosom of their Head.
Ay, thither let us haste away,
Sure heaven will the sweeter be,
If there we ever come to stay)
For him, and others such as he.

J. M.

Upon the death of that most reverend man of God, Mr. John Wilson, pastor of the first church in Boston, in New England; whose decease was August 7, 1667.

JOHN WILSON,

ANAGR.

JOHN WILSON.

Oh change it not! No sweeter name or thing,
Throughout the world, within our ears shall ring.

Whoso of Abr'am, Moses, Samuel reads,
Or of Elijah, or Elisha's deeds,
Would surely say their spirit and power was his,
And think there were a Metempsychosis,
Yea, like John Baptist in the wilderness,
So was our John in Patmos here, no less.
John, the divine, resembling therefore rather,
And of New England's prophets was the father,
John, the divine, whose life a revelation
Of faith and love, and Christ to admiration,
John, the divine, whom Jesus lov'd most dear,
Sweet'ned with leaning on his bosom here:
This is that John, whose death who doth not moan,
Hath sure no heart of flesh, but one of stone.
He had the countries faith, and love, and zeal,
Even grace enough for church and common-weal;
Whereby was propt up all the fabrick still,
That else had tumbled down our Sion hill.
Of meerly men deserving glory more,
You'll find nor martyr, nor a confessor,
Inspir'd he was with the prophetick spirit
Of all the prophets, which he did inherit.
'Twixt an apostle and evangelist,
His order standeth in the heavenly list.
If Paul himself among us dead had been,
More tears or sorrow could not have been seen.
They wept not more for this, that they should see
His face no more, than now we mourners be.
For heavenly poems most angelical,
Composing volumes with delight, were all
But gathered up in one, we should espy
Enough to fill an university.
And were another psalm-book made by thee,
(Mictam of John) their title it should be.
As aged John th' apostle us'd to bless
The people, which they judg'd their happiness:
So we did count it worth our pilgrimage
Unto him, for his blessing in his age;
Yet then, no babe more longing for the breast,
Than he to take within the church his rest,
To have the sincere milk of God's good word,
Which to his soul all comfort did afford.
Not heat, nor cold, nor rain, nor snow, must bar;
But everywhere becomes an auditor.
Who ever laboured in the ministry,
More given, than he, to hospitality?
To strangers, widows, fatherless, and all;
To friends and foes he was most liberal.
Of all his prayers, sermons, travels, pains,
He is ascended heaven to reap the gains.

Oh, for a double portion of thy spirit!
No richer treasure would we all inherit.
Mœstus apposuit.

T.

1668.

This year it pleased God to visit New England with the manifestation of his displeasure, by the death of three eminent instruments; the first whereof was that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. Samuel Shepard, pastor of the church of Christ in Rowley, in New England, who deceased in the spring of this year, in the midst of his days, and in the beginning of his work in the ministry.[2] The second, that worthy man of God, Mr. Henry Flint, teacher of the church of Christ at Braintree, in New England, who ended his mortal life the 27th of April, in this year; a man of known piety, gravity, and integrity, and well accomplished with other qualifications fit for the work of the ministry. The third and last, but not the least, that supereminent minister of the gospel (rightly so called), Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, pastor of the church at Cambridge, in New England, who laid down his earthly tabernacle on the ninth of July, in this year. Of whose rare endowments, and the great loss the whole land sustained by his death, take this following brief account.

Mr. Jonathan Mitchell was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, in England, of pious and wealthy parents, who coming over to New England, brought him over young; his education in learning was perfected at Harvard College, in Cambridge, where he attained to such a degree in knowledge, that he was soon called to be a fellow of the college, and, within a few years after, his lustre did so shine, that the church at Hartford,

[1] These lines were written by the Rev. Thomas Shepard.—*Magnal.*, iii. 49.

[2] Mr. Shepard was second son of Rev. Mr. Shepard of Cambridge. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1658, and was ordained at Rowley, about six years before his death.—Eliot's *Biog. Dict.*

upon Connecticut river, made application to him in order to supply the place of that eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, a little before deceased; but the church at Cambridge (by the advice of their worthy pastor, Mr. Thomas Shepard, then living), not willing to part with so great a treasure, became competitor with Hartford, and gave him a call to them. This loving strife, between the two churches of Hartford and Cambridge, about him, was, in a short time, decided by the awful hand of God, in the death of that eminent and glorious star, Mr. Thomas Shepard, pastor at Cambridge; which place being wholly destitute, and Hartford being supplied with a teacher, namely, that worthy of the Lord, Mr. Samuel Stone, the balance was cast for Cambridge, and in the year 1650, he was called and ordained their pastor. It was an eminent favour of God to that church, to have this great breach thus made up, with a man so much of the spirit and principles of their former pastor, and so excellently qualified with respect to the College: for, reason and prudence requireth, that the minister of that place be more than ordinarily endowed with learning, gravity, wisdom, orthodoxness, ability, sweet and excellent gifts in preaching, that so the scholars which are devoted and set apart, in order to be preachers of the gospel, might be seasoned with the spirit of such an Elijah; in which regard, this holy man of God was eminently furnished, and his labours wonderfully blessed; for very many of the scholars, bred up in his time (as is observed), do savour of his spirit, for grace and manner of preaching, which was most attractive. He lived pastor of the church about eighteen years, and was most intense and faithful in declaring much of the counsel of God. He went through a great part of the body of divinity; made a very excellent exposition of the book of Genesis, and part of Exodus; and delivered many fruitful and profitable sermons on the four first chapters of John; and, in his monthly lectures, which were abundantly frequented, he preached of man's misery by sin, and recovery by Christ

Jesus; and died in the third part of it, namely, concerning man's obedience in Christ; besides many other excellent truths, by him taught, upon divers occasions. In all his labours, God was wonderfully present with him. He was a person that held very near communion with God; eminent in wisdom, piety, humility, love, self-denial, and of a compassionate and tender heart; surpassing in public-spiritedness; a mighty man in prayer, and eminent at standing in the gap; he was zealous for order, and faithful in asserting the truth, against all oppugners of it. In a word, he was a man whom God had richly furnished, and eminently fitted for his work; lived desired, and died lamented, by all good Christians that knew him. It pleased God upon the 9th of July, 1668, in a hot and burning season (but much more hot in the heat of God's anger to New England), to take him to rest and glory, about the 43d year of his age. His race was but short, but the work he did was very much. The elegies following may give the reader a further account of what esteem he was.[1]

Upon the death of that truly godly, reverend, and faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, pastor of the Church at Cambridge, who deceased July 9, 1668.

What shall we say? Of sad effects what fear?
Four splendent stars extinguish'd in one year!
Two old, one young, and this of middle age;
A brightest light, most eyes who did engage,
The Lord in's temple is, earth silence keep;
Dispute not over bold this judgment deep.
A mourning great, each eye distilling streams:
Sad sighs and sobs in most men's mouths their themes.
And who can blame it? for this we well may,
If love, if fear, if temple-shakes bear sway.
The wife hath lost her head, four hopeful stems
A father; Cambridge too their crowning gems;
Neighbours, a useful light; elders, a brother,
Whose head and mouth made him, to most, a father.

1 There is an elaborate life of this eminent man in the *Magnalia* (iv. 166–185), which is faithfully abridged in the *History of Cambridge.—Hist. Coll.*, viii. 47–51.

Sad Cambridge, when thou lost thy Thomas dear,
God pitied thee, and gave a right compeer;
This Jonathan thy Mitchell, one in whom
Was much of EL, a Michael judged by some.
Right strong in school, in desk of brightest shine;
Artist, good linguist, high orthodox divine;
Of judgment deep; of memory how large!
Invention quick, grave, pleasant; who can charge
Thee, in thy theory or practic, with dark fail?
Humble, sincere, whose love cords did avail.
Much good by him, you Cambridge have received,
He gone, by you his relicts see reliev'd.
A royal quære, 'twas when Jonathan dead,
And royal act, Jonathan's stems to feed.

E. B.[1]

To the memory of that learned and reverend Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, late minister of Cambridge, in New England, interred July 10, 1668.

Quicquid agimus, quicquid patimur venit ex alto.

The country's tears, be ye my spring; my hill,
A general grave; let groans inspire my quill,
With an heart rending sense, drawn from the cries,
Of orphan churches, and the destinies
Of a bereaved house: let children weep,
They scarce know why; and let the mothers steep
Her lifeless hopes in brine; the private friend
O'erwhelmed with grief, falter, his comforts end,
By a warm sympathy let fev'rish heat
Roam through my verse unseen; and a cold sweat
Limning despair attend me; sighs diffuse
Convulsions through my language, such as use
To type a gasping fancy; lastly shroud
Religion's splendour in a mourning cloud,
Replete with vengeance for succeeding times,
Fertile in woes, more fertile in their crimes.
These are my muse, and these inspire the sails
Of fancy with their sighs instead of gales.
Reader, read rev'rend Mitchell's life, and then
Confess the world a Gordian knot again.
Read his tear-delug'd grave, and then decree
Our present woe and future misery;
Stars falling speak a storm. When Samuel dies,
Steel may expect Philistia's cruelties.

[1] The Rev. Edward Bulkley of Concord is supposed to be intended by these initials.

So when Jehovah's brighter glory fled
The temple, Israel was captive led.
Geneva's triple light made one divine;
But here that vast triumvirate combine
By a blest Metempsychosis, to take
One person for their larger Zodiac.
In sacred censures, Farrel's dreadful scroll
Of words, broke from the pulpit to the soul.
(Indulgent parents when they spare, they spoil,
Old wounds need vinegar as well as oil.
Distasteful cates with miseries do suit;
The Paschal lamb was eat with bitter fruit);
In balmy comforts, Viret's genius came
From the wrinkled Alps to woo the western dame;
And courting Cambridge, quickly took from thence,
Her last degrees of rhetoric and sense.
Calvin's Laconics through his doctrines spread,
And children's children with their manna fed.
His exposition Genesis begun,
And fatal Exodus eclips'd his sun.
Some say that souls of sad presages give;
Death-breathing sermons taught us last to live.
One sows, another reaps, may truly be,
Our grave instruction and his elegy.
His system of religion half unheard,
Full double in his preaching life appear'd.
Happy that place where rulers deeds appear,
I' th' front of battle, and their words i' the rear.
He's gone, to whom his country owes a love,
Worthy the prudent serpent and the dove.
Religion's Panoply, the sinner's terror,
Death summon'd hence sure by writ of error,
The Quaker trembling at his thunder, fled,
And with Caligula resum'd his bed.
He by the motions of a nobler spirit,
Clear'd men, and made their notions swine inherit,
The Munster goblin by his holy flood,
Exorcis'd, like a thin Phantasma stood.
Brown's babel shatter'd by his lightning fell;
And with confused horror pack'd to hell.
The Scripture with a commentary bound,
(Like a lost calice) in his heart was found.
When he was sick, the air a fever took,
And thirsty Phœbus quaft the silver brook.
When dead the spheres in thunder clouds and rain,
Groan'd his elegium, mourn'd and wept our pain,
Let not the brazen Schismatic aspire;
Lot's leaving Sodom, left them to the fire.
'Tis true, the bee's now dead, but yet his sting,
Death's to their dronish doctrines yet may bring.

EPITAPHIUM.

Here lies within this comprehensive span,
The churches, courts, and countries Jonathan,
He that speaks Mitchell, gives the schools the lie;
Friendship in him gain'd an ubiquity.

F. D.

Vicet post funera virtus.

An epitaph upon the deplored death of that supereminent minister of the gospel, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell.

Here lies the darling of his time,
Mitchell expired in his prime;
Who four years short of forty-seven,
Was found full ripe and pluck'd for heaven.
Was full of prudent zeal and love,
Faith, patience, wisdom from above;
New England's stay, next age's story;
The churches gem; the college glory.
Angels may speak him; ah! not I,
(Whose worth's above Hyperbole)
But for our loss, wer't in my power,
I'd weep an everlasting shower.

J. S.[1]

A fourth minister that died this year was Mr. John Eliot, jun., born at Roxbury, in New England, eldest son of the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, teacher of the church there. He was educated at Cambridge, in the Latin school, and in the College, until he became master of arts; and a few years after was called to be pastor of a church within the bounds of Cambridge, upon the south side of Charles river. He was a person excellently endowed, and accomplished with gifts of nature, learning, and grace; of comely proportion, ruddy complexion, cheerful countenance; of quick apprehension, solid judgment, excellent prudence; learned both in tongues and arts for one of his time, and studiously intense in acquiring more knowledge. His abilities and acceptation in the ministry did excel; his piety, faith, love, humility, self-denial, and zeal, did eminently shine upon all occasions. He had (under the conduct of his father) by his diligence, industry, and zeal (for the good of souls), attained to such skill in the Indian

[1] Probably Rev. John Sherman, minister of Watertown.

language, that he preached to the Indians sundry years; travelling many miles in a day once a fortnight, to dispense the gospel to them. The Indians have often said, that his preaching to them was precious and desirable; and consequently their loss, and the obstruction in that work, much to be lamented. In a word, there was so much of God in him, that all the wise and godly who knew him, loved and honoured him in the Lord, and bewailed his death; which fell upon the 13th day of October, 1668, and of his age about thirty-five years.

I shall close up this small history with a word of advice to the rising generation, that as now their godly predecessors have had large experience of the goodness and faithfulness of God, for the space of near forty-six years (some of them), and have passed under various dispensations, sometimes under great afflictions, otherwhile the sun shining upon their tabernacles in ways of peace and prosperity; and yet notwithstanding, through the grace of Christ, the most of them have held their integrity in his ways; that so, such as succeed them would follow their examples so far as they have followed Christ; that it might not be said of them, as it is to be feared it may be, by what yet appears amongst many of them, that indeed God did once plant a noble vine in New England, but it is degenerated into the plant of a strange vine, Jer. ii. 21. It were well that it might be said that the rising generation did serve the Lord all the days of such as in this our Israel are as Joshua's amongst us, Josh. xxiv. 31. And the elders that over-lived him, which have known all the works of the Lord, which he hath done for their fathers. But if yet, notwithstanding, afterwards, such shall forget, and not regard those, his great works, here presented before them, besides many more, that I hope by some others may come to their view; be they assured, he will destroy them, and not build them up, Psal. xxviii. 5. Oh, therefore, let the truly godly in this land, be incited by the example of Moses, as the mouth

of the church, to pray earnestly and incessantly unto the Lord, that his work may yet appear to his servants, and his glory unto their children, Psal. xc. 16; Isa. xliv. 3, 4. And that he would pour out his spirit upon his church and people in New England, and his blessing upon their offspring, that they may spring up as among the grass, and as the willows by the watercourses; that so great occasion there may be thereby of taking notice thereof in succeeding generations, to the praise and glory of God. So be it.

A SUPPLEMENT

TO

NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL,

BY ANOTHER HAND

1669.

THIS year, 1669, was rendered sorrowful and remarkable, by the death of Capt. Thomas Southworth, who, full of faith and comfort, expired at Plimouth, December the 8th, being about fifty-three years old, after he had served God in his generation, faithfully, both in a public, and private station.

Thomas Prince, Esq., was again chosen governor of this colony for this year, and so annually to the year 1672; and, March 29, 1673, finished his course, in the seventy-third year of his life; having been a worthy, pious gentleman, and very capable of the office of governor, which he sustained about eighteen years, being therein a terror to evil doers, and an encourager of those that did well; and was honourably interred at Plymouth, April 8, 1673.

To whom succeeded as governor, at the next election, June 3, 1673, the Hon. Josias Winslow, Esq., son of the same Governor Winslow, in whose time, namely, June 24, 1675, broke out the Indian war by Philip, chief sachem of Pockanockett, alias Mount Hope, wherein God, for our sins, was pleased to render the Indians a great scourge to his people in this, and the other colonies of New England, both in their persons and

1 The author of this Supplement was the Hon. Josiah Cotton, of Plymouth, son of the Rev. John Cotton, sometime minister of that town. His mother, Joanna, was a daughter of Dr. Brian Rossiter, of Guilford, in Connecticut. He graduated, at Harvard College, in 1698, and died in 1756, aged 77.

estates. The war being attended with the usual barbarity of the heathen, burning of houses, murdering of men, women, and children; desolation of towns and settlements; tedious and terrible captivities, and continual fears and dangers; the Indians spreading themselves far and near, and effecting with their hands the revenge and malice of their hearts, until that God Almighty regarding our prayers, and succeeding our endeavours, put a stop unto the outrages of the heathen, in the year 1676, when Philip, the perfidious aggressor in the war, was slain on his own plantation near Mount Hope (now Bristol), by one of his own countrymen; and others who had a great hand in our distresses, brought to condign punishment, or forced to fly their own country.

Thus God preserved the vine, which his own right hand had planted, and has enlarged our borders, by giving to us the heritage of the heathen, which they justly forfeited by their unreasonable rebellion.

Oh! that the people of this, and the other colonies, would praise the Lord for his goodness, and wonderful works unto them, that so he may not be provoked to kindle such a fire amongst them.

But a more particular account of this war has been faithfully recorded by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and Dr. Increase Mather, and others, to which I refer the reader.

This Governor Winslow was annually chosen to that office to the year 1680; and in December, 1680, after many escapes in perilous fights and dangerous voyages, death arrested him, at his seat in Marshfield, within the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was a worthy and well-accomplished gentleman, deservedly beloved by the people, being a true friend to their just liberties, generous, facetious, affable, and sincere, qualities incident to the family.

In 1681, June 7th, Thomas Hinckley, Esq., was chosen governor, and by annual election, continued to 1686.

In the year 1685, the government being much enlarged through the divine benediction upon their labour and industry; the colony was divided into three counties, namely, The county of Plimouth, of which the shire town is Plimouth.

The county of Barnstable, the shire town Barnstable.

The county of Bristol, Bristol being the shire town.

In the county of Plimouth, are now ten towns, namely Plymouth, Duxbury, Marshfield, Scituate, Bridgewater, Abington, Pembroke, Plimpton, Middleborough, and Rochester.

In the county of Barnstable, are eight towns, namely, Sandwich, Barnstable, Yarmouth, Harwich, Eastham, Truro, Falmouth, and Chatham.

In the county of Bristol, are twelve towns, namely, Bristol, Rehoboth, Swanzey, Taunton, Dighton, Norton, Barrington, Freetown, Tiverton, Dartmouth, Little Compton, and Attleborough.

In December, 1686, Sir Edmund Andross arrived at Boston with a large commission from his Majesty, King James the Second, comprehending the governments of the Massachusetts, Plimouth, Rhode Island, Connecticut, etc., who continued our governor till the happy and glorious Revolution under King William and Queen Mary of blessed memory.

In April, 1689, Sir Edmund Andross being dismissed from his government, each colony reassumed their former powers, and Mr. Hinckley was annually elected governor to the year 1691.

Our last election of governor, deputy governor, and assistants, being June 2, 1691, the said Mr. Hinckley was chosen governor, and William Bradford, Esq., deputy governor, John Freeman, Daniel Smith, Barnabas Lothrop, John Thatcher, John Walley, John Cushing, assistants; and Mr. Samuel Sprague, secretary.

And note, that Constant Southworth, James Brown, and James Cudworth, first chosen, between the year 1670 and 1675, assistants in government, are the only assistants, whose names are not mentioned in this book, and therefore here inserted.

In the year 1690, was the unsuccessful attempt on Canada, in which Plimouth bore its part both of charge and loss.

And in the same year the Massachusetts sending over their agents to England, with whom went the Rev. Mr. Ichabod Wiswall from Plimouth Colony, obtained of King William and Queen Mary, a charter, containing many valuable privileges, wherein Plimouth (with some other additions) was united to the Massachusetts, and incorporated into one real province, by the name of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England; the King reserving to himself and successors, the power of appointing governor, lieutenant-governor, and secretary; and, consonant to this new constitution, Sir William Phips, knight, being commissioned our first governor, arrived at Boston with the new charter, May, 1692; under which constitution we have ever since continued.

CUSHMAN'S DISCOURSE

OF THE STATE OF THE COLONY, AND THE NEED OF PUBLIC SPIRIT IN THE COLONISTS.[1]

NEW ENGLAND, so called not only (to avoid novelties) because Captain Smith hath so entitled it in his Description, but because of the resemblance that is in it of England, the native soil of Englishmen; it being much-what the same for heat and cold in summer and winter,

1 In the course of Robert Cushman's short residence of a month at Plymouth he delivered a discourse to the colonists on the Sin and Danger of Self-Love, from 1 Cor. x. 24, "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth;" which was printed at London in 1622, but without his name. In a tract printed at London in 1644, entitled "A Brief Narration of some Church Courses in New England," I find the following allusion to this discourse; "There is a book printed, called A Sermon preached at Plymouth, in New England, which, as I am certified, was made there by a comber of wool."

Dr. Belknap remarks, that "this discourse may be considered as a specimen of the *prophesyings* of the brethren. The occasion was singular; the exhortations and reproofs are not less so, but were adapted to the existing state of the colony." Judge Davis says that "the late Isaac Lothrop, of Plymouth, often mentioned an intimation, received from an aged relative, as to the spot where this sermon was delivered. It was at the common house of the Plantation, which is understood to have been erected on the southerly side of the bank, where the town brook meets the harbour. Mr. Lothrop died in 1808, aged seventy-three. Not many years before his death he had the satisfaction of being called to view sundry tools and implements which were dug up at that spot, and which he carefully preserved."

Prefixed to the discourse is an "Epistle Dedicatory, to his loving friends, the adventurers for New England, together with all well-willers and well-wishers thereunto, grace and peace, &c." The Epistle is here printed entire, and all that is of any general or historical interest in the discourse.

it being champaign ground, but not high mountains; somewhat like the soil in Kent and Essex, full of dales and meadow ground, full of rivers and sweet springs, as England is. But principally, so far as we can yet find, it is an island,[1] and near about the quantity of England, being cut out from the main land in America, as England is from the main of Europe, by a great arm of the sea,[2] which entereth in forty degrees, and runneth up northwest and by west, and goeth out either into the South Sea, or else into the Bay of Canada. The certainty whereof, and secrets of which, we have not yet so found as that, as eye-witnesses, we can make narration thereof; but if God give time and means, we shall ere long discover both the extent of that river, together with the secrets thereof; and also try what territories, habitations, or commodities may be found, either in it, or about it.

It pertaineth not to my purpose to speak any thing either in praise or dispraise of the country. So it is, by God's providence, that a few of us are there planted to our content and have with great charge and difficulty attained quiet and competent dwellings there. And thus much I will say for the satisfaction of such as have any thought of going thither to inhabit; that for men which have a large heart, and look after great riches, ease, pleasures, dainties, and jollity in this world, (except they will live by other men's sweat, or have great riches), I would not advise them to come there, for as yet the country will afford no such matters. But if there be any who are content to lay out their estates, spend their time, labours and endeavours, for the benefit of them that shall come after, and in desire to further the Gospel among those poor heathens, quietly contenting themselves with such hardship and difficulties, as by God's providence shall fall upon them, being yet young, and in their strength, such men I would advise and encourage to go, for their ends cannot fail them.

[1] It will be seen hereafter that Winslow too, on the authority of the natives, calls it an island.

[2] Hudson's river.

And if it should please God to punish his people in the Christian countries of Europe, for their coldness, carnality, wanton abuse of the Gospel, contention, etc., either by Turkish slavery, or by popish tyranny (which God forbid), yet if the time be come, or shall come (as who knoweth?) when Satan shall be let loose to cast out his floods against them, here is a way opened for such as have wings to fly into this wilderness; and as by the dispersion of the Jewish church through persecution, the Lord brought in the fulness of the Gentiles, so who knoweth, whether now by tyranny and affliction, which he suffereth to come upon them, he will not by little and little chase them even amongst the heathens, that so a light may rise up in the dark, and the kingdom of heaven be taken from them which now have it, and given to a people that shall bring forth the fruit of it? This I leave to the judgment of the godly wise, being neither prophet nor son of a prophet. But considering God's dealing of old, and seeing the name of Christian to be very great, but the true nature thereof almost quite lost in all degrees and sects, I cannot think but that there is some judgment not far off, and that God will shortly, even of stones, raise up children unto Abraham.

And whoso rightly considereth what manner of entrance, abiding, and proceedings we have had among these poor heathens since we came hither, will easily think that God hath some great work to do towards them.

They were wont to be the most cruel and treacherous people in all these parts, even like lions; but to us they have been like lambs, so kind, so submissive, and trusty, as a man may truly say, many Christians are not so kind nor sincere.

They were very much wasted of late, by reason of a great mortality that fell amongst them three years since; which, together with their own civil dissensions and bloody wars, hath so wasted them, as I think the twentieth person is scarce left alive; and those that are left, have their courage much abated, and their countenance is dejected, and they seem as a people

affrighted. And though when we first came into the country, we were few, and many of us were sick, and many died by reason of the cold and wet, it being the depth of winter, and we having no houses nor shelter, yet when there was not six able persons among us, and that they came daily to us by hundreds, with their sachems or kings, and might in one hour have made a dispatch of us, yet such a fear was upon them, as that they never offered us the least injury in word or deed. And by reason of one Tisquanto, that lives amongst us, that can speak English, we have daily commerce with their kings, and can know what is done or intended towards us among the savages; also we can acquaint them with our courses and purposes, both human and religious. And the greatest commander of the country, called Massasoit, cometh often to visit us, though he lives fifty miles from us, often sends us presents, he having with many other of their governors promised, yea, subscribed obedience to our Sovereign Lord King James, and for his cause to spend both strength and life. And we, for our parts, through God's grace, have with that equity, justice, and compassion carried ourselves towards them, as that they have received much favour, help, and aid from us, but never the least injury or wrong by us.[1] We found the place where we live empty, the people being all dead

[1] They offer us to dwell where we will.—*Cushman's Note.*

The first planters of Plymouth and Massachusetts invariably purchased of the natives the lands on which they settled, for considerations which were deemed at the time fully equivalent. They followed literally the instructions given by the governor of the New England Company to Gov. Endicott, in 1629: "If any of the salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavour to purchase their title, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion. Particularly publish that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives." And in 1676, it was as truly as proudly said by Governor Josiah Winslow, of Plymouth, "I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this Colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors." See Hutchinson's *Mass.*, ii. 266; Hazard's *State Papers*, i. 263; Hubbard's *Indian Wars*, p. 13 (ed. 1677).

and gone away, and none living near by eight or ten miles; and though in the time of some hardship, we found, travelling abroad, some eight bushels of corn hid up in a cave, and knew no owners of it, yet afterwards hearing of the owners of it, we gave them (in their estimation) double the value of it. Our care also hath been to maintain peace amongst them, and have always set ourselves against such of them as used any rebellion or treachery against their governors; and not only threatened such, but in some sort paid them their due deserts. And when any of them are in want, as often they are in the winter, when their corn is done, we supply them to our power, and have them in our houses eating and drinking, and warming themselves; which thing, though it be something a trouble to us, yet because they should see and take knowledge of our labours, orders and diligence, both for this life and a better, we are content to bear it; and we find in many of them, especially of the younger sort, such a tractable disposition, both to religion and humanity, as that if we had means to apparel them, and wholly to retain them with us (as their desire is), they would doubtless in time prove serviceable to God and man; and if ever God send us means, we will bring up hundreds of their children both to labour and learning.

But leaving to speak of them till a further occasion be offered, if any shall marvel at the publishing of this treatise in England, seeing there is no want of good books, but rather want of men to use good books, let them know, that the especial end is, that we may keep those motives in memory for ourselves and those that shall come after, to be a remedy against self-love, the bane of all societies; and that we also might testify to our Christian countrymen, who judge diversely of us, that though we be in a heathen country, yet the grace of Christ is not quenched in us, but we still hold and teach the same points of faith, mortification, and sanctification, which we have heard and learned, in a most ample and large manner, in our own country. If any shall think it too rude and unlearned for this

curious age, let them know, that to paint out the Gospel in plain and flat English, amongst a company of plain Englishmen (as we are), is the best and most profitable teaching; and we will study plainness, not curiosity, neither in things human nor heavenly. If any error or unsoundness be in it (as who knoweth?) impute it to that frail man which indited it, which professeth to know nothing as he ought to know it. I have not set down my name, partly because I seek no name, and principally because I would have nothing esteemed by names; for I see a number of evils to arise through names, when the persons are either famous or infamous, and God and man is often injured. If any good or profit arise to thee in the receiving of it, give God the praise and esteem me as a son of Adam, subject to all such frailties as other men are.

And you, my loving friends, the adventurers to this Plantation, as your care has been, first to settle religion[1] here, before either profit or popularity, so I pray you, go on to do it much more, and be careful to send godly men, though they want some of that worldly policy which this world hath in her own generation; and so, though you lose, the Lord shall gain. I rejoice greatly in your free and ready minds to your powers, yea, and beyond your powers to further this work, that you thus honour God with your riches; and I trust you shall be repayed again double and treble in this world, yea, and the memory of this action shall never die. But above all, adding unto this, as I trust you do, like

1 "The great and known end of the first comers, in the year of our Lord 1620, leaving their dear native country and all that was dear to them there, transporting themselves over the vast ocean into this remote waste wilderness, and therein willingly conflicting with dangers, losses, hardships and distresses, sore and not a few, was, that without offence, they, under the protection of their native prince, together with the enlargement of his Majesty's dominions, might, with the liberty of a good conscience, enjoy the pure scriptural worship of God, without the mixture of human inventions and impositions; and that their children after them might walk in the holy ways of the Lord."—See General Fundamentals, prefixed to the Laws of New Plymouth, published in 1672, and reprinted in Brigham's edition, p. 242.

freeness in all other God's services, both at home and abroad, you shall find reward with God, ten thousandfold surpassing all that you do or think. Be not, therefore, discouraged, for no labour is lost nor money spent, which is bestowed for God. Your ends were good, your success is good, and your profit is coming, even in this life, and in the life to come much more. And what shall I say now? A word to men of understanding sufficeth. Pardon, I pray you, my boldness, read over the ensuing treatise, and judge wisely of the poor weakling; and the Lord, the God of sea and land, stretch out his arm of protection to you and us, and over all our lawful and good enterprises, either this, or any other way.

Plymouth, in New England, December 12, 1621.

There is a generation, which think to have more in this world, than Adam's felicity in innocency, being born, as they think, to take their pleasures and their ease. Let the roof of the house drop through, they stir not; let the field be overgrown with weeds, they care not; they must not foul their hand, nor wet their foot. It's enough for them to say, Go you, not, Let us go, though never so much need. Such idle drones are intolerable in a settled commonwealth, much more in a commonwealth which is but as it were in the bud. Of what earth, I pray thee, art thou made? Of any better than the other of the sons of Adam? And canst thou see other of thy brethren toil their hearts out, and thou sit idle at home, or takest thy pleasure abroad?

It is reported that there are many men gone to that other plantation in Virginia, which, whilst they lived in England, seemed very religious, zealous, and conscionable; and have now lost even the sap of grace, and edge to all goodness; and are become mere worldlings. This testimony I believe to be partly true, and amongst many causes of it, this self-love is not the least. It is indeed a matter of some commendations for a man to remove himself out of a thronged place

into a wide wilderness; to take in hand so long and dangerous a journey, to be an instrument to carry the Gospel and humanity among the brutish heathen; but there may be many goodly shows and glosses, and yet a pad in the straw. Men may make a great appearance of respect unto God, and yet but dissemble with him, having their own lusts carrying them; and, out of doubt, men that have taken in hand hither to come, out of discontentment, in regard to their estates in England, and aiming at great matters here, affecting it to be gentlemen, landed men, or hoping for office, place, dignity, or fleshly liberty. Let the show be what it will, the substance is naught; and that bird of self-love which was hatched at home, if it be not looked to, will eat out the life of all grace and goodness; and though men have escaped the danger of the sea, and that cruel mortality, which swept away so many of our loving friends and brethren, yet except they purge out this self-love, a worse mischief is prepared for them. And who knoweth whether God in mercy have delivered those just men which here departed, from the evils to come, and from unreasonable men, in whom there neither was, nor is, any comfort, but grief, sorrow, affliction, and misery, till they cast out this spawn of self-love?

Now, brethren, I pray you, remember yourselves, and know that you are not in a retired, monastical course, but have given your names and promises one to another, and covenanted here to cleave together in the service of God and the King. What then must you do? May you live as retired hermits, and look after nobody? Nay, you must seek still the wealth of one another, and inquire, as David, How liveth such a man? How is he clad? How is he fed? He is my brother, my associate; we ventured our lives together here, and had a hard brunt of it; and we are in league together. Is his labour harder than mine? Surely I will ease him. Hath he no bed to lie on? Why, I have two; I'll lend him one. Hath he no apparel? Why, I have two suits; I'll give him one of them.

Eats he coarse fare, bread and water, and I have better? Why, surely we will part stakes. He is as good a man as I, and we are bound each to other; so that his wants must be my wants, his sorrows my sorrows, his sickness my sickness, and his welfare my welfare; for I am as he is. And such a sweet sympathy were excellent, comfortable, yea, heavenly, and is the only maker and conserver of churches and commonwealths; and where this is wanting, ruin comes on quickly.

It wonderfully encourageth men in their duties, when they see the burthen equally borne; but when some withdraw themselves, and retire to their own particular ease, pleasure, or profit, what heart can men have to go on in their business? When men are come together to lift some weighty piece of timber, or vessel, if one stand still and do not lift, shall not the rest be weakened and disheartened? Will not a few idle drones spoil the whole stock of laborious bees? So one idle belly, one murmurer, one complainer, one self-lover, will weaken and dishearten a whole colony. Great matters have been brought to pass, where men have cheerfully, as with one heart, hand and shoulder, gone about it, both in wars, buildings and plantations; but where every man seeks himself, all cometh to nothing.

The country is yet raw; the land untilled; the cities not builded; the cattle not settled. We are compassed about with a helpless and idle people, the natives of the country, which cannot, in any comely or comfortable manner, help themselves, much less us. We also have been very chargeable to many of our loving friends, which helped us hither, and now again supplied us; so that before we think of gathering riches, we must even in conscience think of requiting their charge, love, and labour; and cursed be that profit and gain which aimeth not at this. Besides, how many of our dear friends did here die at our first entrance; many of them, no doubt, for want of good lodging, shelter, and comfortable things; and many more may go after them quickly, if care be not taken.

Is this then a time for men to begin to seek themselves? Paul saith, that men in the *last days* shall be lovers of themselves; but it is here yet but the *first* days, and, as it were, the dawning of this new world. It is now therefore no time for men to look to get riches, brave clothes, dainty fare; but to look to present necessities. It is now no time to pamper the flesh, live at ease, snatch, catch, scrape, and pill, and hoard up; but rather to open the doors, the chests, and vessels, and say, Brother, neighbour, friend, what want ye? any thing that I have? Make bold with it; it is yours to command, to do you good, to comfort and cherish you; and glad I am that I have it for you.

Let there be no prodigal person to come forth and say, Give me the portion of lands and goods that appertaineth to me, and let me shift for myself.[1] It is yet too soon to put men to their shifts. Israel was seven years in Canaan before the land was divided unto tribes, much longer before it was divided unto families; and why wouldest thou have thy particular portion, but because thou thinkest to live better than thy neighbour, and scornest to live so meanly as he? But who, I pray thee, brought this particularizing first into the world? Did not Satan, who was not content to keep that equal state with his fellows, but would set his throne above the stars? Did not he also entice man to despise his general felicity and happiness, and go try particular knowledge of good and evil? And nothing in this world doth more resemble heavenly happiness, than for men to live as one, being

[1] Throughout this paragraph there is a manifest reference to the coparthership into which they had been obliged to enter with the merchant adventurers, by which all the property and profits of the Plantation for seven years were to be held as joint stock, not to be divided till the expiration of that time. The colonists had already become impatient of this arrangement, and were clamorous for a partition of the lands, and the institution of separate property. It was the design of Mr. Cushman to exhort them to be faithful to their engagement, to cherish a public spirit, and to seek the general and ultimate good of the Colony, rather than their personal and immediate interest.

of one heart and one soul; neither any thing more resembles hellish horror, than for every man to shift for himself; for if it be a good mind and practice, thus to affect particulars, *mine* and *thine*, then it should be best also for God to provide one heaven for thee, and another for thy neighbour.

Objection. But some will say, If all men will do their endeavours, as I do, I could be content with this generality; but many are idle and slothful, and eat up others' labours, and therefore it is best to part, and then every man may do his pleasure.

If others be idle and thou diligent, thy fellowship, provocation, and example may well help to cure that malady in them, being together; but being asunder, shall they not be more idle, and shall not gentry and beggary be quickly the glorious ensigns of your commonwealth?

Be not too hasty to say men are idle and slothful. All men have not strength, skill, faculty, spirit, and courage to work alike. It is thy glory and credit, that canst do so well, and his shame and reproach, that can do no better; and are not these sufficient rewards to you both?

If any be idle apparently, you have a law and governors to execute the same, and to follow that rule of the Apostle, to keep back their bread, and let them not eat. Go not therefore whispering to charge men with idleness; but go to the governor and prove them idle, and thou shalt see them have their deserts.

And as you are a body together, so hang not together by skins and gymocks, but labour to be jointed together and knit by flesh and sinews. Away with envy at the good of others, and rejoice in his good, and sorrow for his evil. Let his joy be thy joy, and his sorrow thy sorrow. Let his sickness be thy sickness, his hunger thy hunger, his poverty thy poverty; and if you profess friendship, be friends in adversity, for then a friend is known and tried, and not before.

Lay away all thought of former things and forget them, and think upon the things that are. Look not

gapingly one upon other, pleading your goodness, your birth, your life you lived, your means you had and might have had. Here you are by God's providence under difficulties; be thankful to God it is no worse, and take it in good part that which is, and lift not up yourselves because of former privileges. Consider therefore what you are now, and where you are. Say not, I could have lived thus and thus; but say, Thus and thus I must live; for God and natural necessity requireth, if your difficulties be great, you had need to cleave the faster together, and comfort and cheer up one another, labouring to make each other's burden lighter.

There is no grief so tedious as a churlish companion; and nothing makes sorrows easy more than cheerful associates. Bear ye therefore one another's burthen, and be not a burthen one to another. Avoid all factions, frowardness, singularity, and withdrawings, and cleave fast to the Lord and one to another continually; so shall you be a notable precedent to these poor heathens, whose eyes are upon you, and who very brutishly and cruelly do daily eat and consume one another, through their emulations, wars and contentions. Be you, therefore, ashamed of it, and win them to peace, both with yourselves and one another, by your peaceable examples, which will preach louder to them than if you could cry in their barbarous language. So also shall you be an encouragement to many of your Christian friends in your native country, to come to you, when they hear of your peace, love and kindness that is amongst you. But, above all, it shall go well with your souls, when that God of peace and unity shall come to visit you with death, as he hath done many of your associates; you being found of him, not in murmurings, discontent, and jars, but in brotherly love and peace, may be translated from this wandering wilderness unto that joyful and heavenly Canaan.

NEW ENGLANDS TRIALS.

Declaring the successe of 80 Ships employed thither within these eight yeares; *and the benefit of that Countrey by Sea and Land.*

With the present estate of that happie Plantation, begun but by 60 weake men *in the yeare* 1620.

And how to build a Fleete of good Shippes *to make a little Nauie Royall.*

Written by Captain *Iohn Smith*, sometimes Gouernour of *Virginia*, and Admirall of *New England.*

The second Edition.

LONDON,
Printed by WILLIAM IONES.
1622.

TO THE MOST HIGH AND excellent Prince *Charles*, Prince of *VVales*; Duke of *Cornewall*, *Yorke*, and *Albanie*; Marquis of *Ormond*, and *Rothsey*; and Earle Palatine of *Chester*; Heire of *Great Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c.

SIR,

When scarce any would beleeue mee there was any such matter, your Highnesse did not disdaine to accept my description, and called that *New England*, whose barbarous names you changed for such English, that none can denie but Prince *Charles* is the Godfather. Whereby I am bound in all reason, and dutie to giue you the best account I can how your child doth prosper: and although as yet it is not much vnlike the Father in fortune, onely vsed as an instrument for other mens ends; yet the grace you bestowed on it by your Princely fauour, hath drawn so many iudgments now to behold it, that I hope shall find, it will giue content to your Highnesse, satisfaction to them, and so increase the number of well-willers, [that] *New England* will be able to reiect her maligners, and attend Prince *Charles* with her dutifull obedience, with a trophie of honour, and a kingdome for a Prince. Therefore the great worke contained in this little booke, humbly desires your Princely patronage.

No more, but sacring all my best abilities to the exquisite iudgement of your renowmed vertues, I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Your Highnesse true and
faithfull seruant,
Io. Smith.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

AND RIGHT WORTHY ADVENTURERS, to all Plantations and Discoueries, their friends and well-willers, especially of *Virginia* and *New England.*

RIGHT HO.

I Confesse it were more proper for me to be doing what I say, then writing what I know: but that it is not my fault, there is many a hundreth can testifie, if they please to remember what paines I haue taken both particularly and generally to make this worke knowne, and procure meanes to put it in practise. What calumniations, doubts, or other mispritions hath opposed my endeuors, I had rather forget then remember; but still to expresse my forwardnesse, to the consideration of your fauourable constructions I present this short discourse of the proceedings and present estate of New England: *if you please to peruse it, and make vse of it, I am richly rewarded, though they be but the collections and obseruations of a plaine souldier, yet if you please to grace them with your countenance and good acceptance, I shall therein thinke my selfe happie, and hope that those labours may in time returne you such fruites as hereafter may perswade you to pardon this boldnesse, and accept them to be your honest seruants.*

Yours to command,
Io. Smith.

NEW ENGLANDS

Trials, and Present Estate.

CONCERNING the description of this Country, six yeares ago [1616], I writ so largely, as in briefe I hope this may suffice you to remember, that *New England* is a part of *America*, betwixt the Degrees 41. and 45. the very meane betwixt the North Pole and the Line.

From 43. to 45. the coast is mountainous, rockie, barren, and broken Iles that make many good harbours. The water is deepe, close to the shore; there are many riuers and fresh springs: few Saluages, but an incredible abundance of fish, fowle, wilde fruits, and good timber.

From 43. to 41. and a half, an excellent mixed coast of stone, sand and clay, much corne, many people, some Iles, many good harbours, a temperate aire, and therein all things necessary for the building [of] ships of any proportion, and good merchandize for their fraught: within a square of 12 leagues, 25 harbours I sounded; 30 seuerall Lordships I saw, and so neare as I could imagine, 3000 men. I was vp one riuer fortie miles, crossed the mouths of many, whose heads are reported to be great lakes; where they kill their Beuers; inhabited with many people who trade with those of *New England*, and them of *Cannada*.

The benefit of fishing as Master Dee *reporteth in his Brittish Monarchie* [1577].

He saith that it is more then 44 yeares ago [*by* 1577], and it is more then 40 yeares since he writ it [*i.e.*, *in* 1577], that the Herring Busses out of the Low-Countries, vnder the King of *Spaine*, were 500. besides

100 Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred saile of Flemmings.

The coasts of *Wales* and Lancashire was vsed by 300 saile of strangers.

Ireland at *Baltemore* fraughted yearely 300 saile of Spaniards; where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castle, because of the strait, to haue tribute for fishing.

Blacke Rocke was yearely fished by three or foure hundred saile of Spaniards, Portugals, and Biskiners.

Master [Tobias] Gentleman and many Fisher-men and Fish-mongers with whom I haue conferred, report,

The Hollanders raise yearely [*in* 1620] by Herring, Cod, and Ling, 3000000 pounds.

English and French by Salt-fish, poore Iohn, Salmons, and Pilchards, 300000 pounds.

Hambrough and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters, and Eeles, 100000 pounds.

Cape Blanke for Tunny and Mullit, by the Biskiners and Spaniards 30000 pounds.

But diuers other learned experienced Obseruers say, though it may seeme incredible,

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yearely tribute of the fishers for Tunny, Mullit, and Purgos, more then 10000 pounds.

Lubeck hath 700 ships: *Hambrough* 600: *Embden* [but] lately a fisher towne, 1400.: whose customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

Holland and *Ze[a]land*, not much greater then *Yorkshire*, hath thirtie walled townes, 400 villages, and 20000 saile of shippes and hoyes; 3600 [vessels] are fishermen, whereof 100 are Doggers, 700 Pinckes and Welbotes, 700 Frand botes, Britters and To[a]debotes, with 1300 Busses: besides three hundred that yearely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for gold;

and fifteene yeares ago, [1605] they had more then 116000 sea-faring men.

These fishing ships do take yearely 200000 Last of fish, twelue barrels to a Last, which amounted to 3000000 pounds by the Fishermens price, that 14 yeares ago [1606] did pay for their tenths 300000 pound; which venting in *Pumerland*, *Sprussia*, *Denmarke*, *Lefland*, *Russia*, *Swethland*, *Germany*, *Netherlands*, *England*, or elsewhere, &c., make their returnes in a yeare about 7000000 pounds; and yet in *Holland* they haue neither matter to build ships, nor merchandize to set them foorth; yet by their industrie they as much increase, as other nations decay.

But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine,

That the coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the North Sea, with *Ireland* and the Sound, New-found land and Cape Blanke, do serue all *Europe*, as well the land Townes as Ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish, which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, viz.

Herring.
Salt-fish.
poore Iohn.
Sturgion.
Mullit.
Tunny.
Porgos.
Caviare.
Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a land more fertile, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, boats, and houses, and the nourishment of man; the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neare the habitations we may there make, that *New England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all Europe farre cheaper then they can who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at Sea nothing but what they carry in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But *New Englands* fishings is neare land, where is helpe of wood, water, fruites, fowles, corne, or other refreshings needfull; and the *Terceras*, *Mederas*, *Canaries*, *Spaine*, *Portugale*, *Prouance*, *Sauoy*, *Sicilia*,

and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry Fish, greene Fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Cauiare, and Buttargo, as *Norway*, *Swethland*, *Littuania* or *Germany*, for their Herring, which is here also in abundance for taking; they returning but wood, pitch, tarre, soape-ashes, cordage, flaxe, waxe, and such like commodities: we, wines, oyles, sugars, silks, and such merchandize as the Straits [*i.e.*, *of Gibraltar*] affoord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners.

And for proofe hereof:

With two ships sent out at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Roydon, *Captain* George Langam, Master Iohn Buley *and* W. Skelton, *I went from the Downes the third of March* [1614], *and ar*[*r*]*iued in New* England *the last of April, where I was to haue stayed but with ten men to keepe possession of those large territories, had the Whales proued, as curious information had assured me and my aduenture*[*r*]*s, (but those things failed.) So hauing but fortie fiue men and boyes, we built seuen boates: 37 did fish; my selfe with eight others ranging the coast. I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants;* 1100 *Beuer skins,* 100 *Martins, and as many Otters.* 40000 *of drie fish we sent for* Spaine: *with the salt fish, traine oile, and Furres, I returned for* England, *the* 18 *of Iuly, and ar*[*r*]*iued safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus in six moneths I made my voyage out and home; and by the labour of* 45, *got neare the value of* 1500 *pounds in those grosse commodities.*

This yeare also one went from Plimmoth, *set out by diuers of the Isle of Wight and the West country, by the directions and instructions of Sir* Ferdinando Gorge, [*they*] *spent their victuals, and returned with nothing.*

The Virginia *Company, upon this, sent* 4 *good ships; and because I would not vndertake it for them, hauing ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained* [engaged] *the men that came home with me. They set saile in Ianuary* [1615], *and arriued there*

in March; they found fish enough vntill halfe Iune, fraughted a ship of 300 *Tuns,* [*which*] *went for* Spaine, *which was taken by the Turks; one went to* Virginia *to relieue that Colonie, and two came for* England *with greene fish, traine oile and Furres within six moneths.*

In Ianuary [1615] *with* 200 *pounds in cash for aduenture, and six Gentlemen wel furnished, I went from* London *to the foure shippes* [*that*] *was promised, prepared for me in the West country; but I found no such matter: notwithstanding at the last with a labyrinth of trouble I went from* Plimmoth *with a ship of* 200 *Tuns, and one of fiftie: when the fishing was done, onely with* 15 *I was to stay in the country.*

But ill weather breaking all my masts, I was forced to returne to Plimmoth; *where rather then lose all, re-imbarking myselfe in a Bark of* 60 *Tuns: how I escaped the English pyrates and the French, and was betrayed by foure French men of warre, I referre you to the Description of* New England: *but my Vice-Admirall, notwithstanding the latenesse of the yeare, setting forth with me in March* [1615], *the Londoners in Ianuary, she ariued in May, they in March; yet come home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within* 5 *months, odde days.*

The Londoners ere I returned from France [Dec. 1615], *for all their losse by the Turks, which was valued about* 4000 *pounds, sent two more in Iuly* [1615]; *but such courses they took by the* Canaries *to the West* Indies, *it was ten moneths ere they ariued in* New England [May 1616], *wasting in that time their seasons, victuall and healths, yet there they found meanes to refresh themselves: and the one returned, neare fraught with fish and traine, within* 2 *moneths after* [July 1616].

From Plimmoth *went* 4 *ships, onely to fish and trade, some in Februarie, some in March; one of* 200 *Tuns got thither in a month, and went full fraught for* Spain; *but the rest returned to* Plimmoth *well fraught, and their men well, within fiue moneths, odde dayes.*

From London *went two more: one of* 200 *Tuns, got thither in six weeks, and within six weeks after with* 44

men and boyes was full fraught, and returned again into England *within fiue moneths and a few daies; the other went to the* Canaries *with drie fish, which they sold at a great rate, for Rials of* 8, *and as I heard turned pirats.*

I being at Plimmoth *prouided with* 3 *good ships, yet but fifteene men to stay with me in the country, was Windbound three moneths, as was many a hundred saile more, so that the season being past, the ships went for* Newfound land, *whereby my designe was frustrate: which was to me and my friends no small losse, in regard whereof here the Westerne Commissioners, in the behalfe of themselues and the rest of the Companie, contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters pattents so to be nominated, halfe the fruits of our endeuours theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged, now the businesse doth prosper, some of them would vvillingly forget me; but I am not the first they haue deceiued.*

There vvas foure good ships prepared at Plimmoth, *but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely* 2 *went forward, the one being of* 200 *Tuns, returned vvell fraught for* Plimmoth, *and her men in health, within fiue moneths; the other of* 80 *Tuns, went for* Bilbow *with drie fish, and made a good returne.*

In this voyage Edward Rowcraft, *alias* Stallings, *a valiant souldier, that had bin vvith me in* Virginia, *and seuen yeares after vvent vvith me from* Plimoth *towards* New England, *with Thomas* Dirmer *an vnderstanding and an industrious Gentleman to inhabite it; all vvhose names vvith our proceedings you may reade at large in my description of* New England, *vpon triall before the Iudge of the Admiraltie, how vvhen vve had past the vvorst, for pure cowardize the Maister and sailers ran away vvith the ship and all I had, and left me alone among* 8 *or* 9 *French men of Warre in the yeare* 1615. *This* Stallings *vvent now againe in those ships, and hauing some vvrong offered him in* New England *by a French man, he tooke him* [*i.e.*, his ship]; *and as he vvrit to me, he vvent vvith her*

to Virginia *vvith fish, to trade vvith them for such commodities as they might spare; he knew both the countries vvell, yet he promised me the next Spring to meet me in* New England; *but the ship and he perished in* Virginia.

This yeare againe, diuers ships intending to go from Plimmoth, *so disagreed, as there vvent but one of* 200 *Tuns, vvho stayed in the country about* 6 *vveeks, vvith* 38 *men and boyes, had her fraught, vvhich she sold at the first penie, for* 2100 *pounds, besides the Furres; so that euery poore sailer that had but a single share, had his charges, and* 16*l.* 10*s. for his seuen moneths vvorke.*

Master Thomas Dirmir *hauing liued about a yeare in* New-found-land *returning to* Plimmoth, *vvent for* New England *in this ship, and not only confirmes vvhat I haue vvrit, but so much more approued of it, that he stayed there vvith fiue or six men in a little boate; finding* 2 *or* 3 *Frenchmen among the sauages, vvho had lost their ship,* [*they*] *augmented his companie, vvith vvhom he ranged the coast to* Virginia, *vvhere he vvas kindly vvelcomed, and vvell refreshed* [Nov. 1619]; *thence returned to* New England *again, vvhere hauing bin a yeare, in his back-returne to* Virginia, *he vvas so vvounded by the sauages, he died vpon it, them* [*who*] *escaped vvere relieued at* Virginia.

Let not men attribute their great aduentures and vntimely deaths to vnfortunatenesse, but rather vvonder how God did so long preserue them, vvith so small meanes to do so much, leauing the fruits of their labours to be an encouragement to those our poore vndertakings; and this for aduantage as they vvrit vnto me, that God had laid this Country open for vs, and slaine the most part of the inhabitants by cruell vvarres, and a mortall disease; for vvhere I had seene 100 *or* 200 *people* [in 1614], *there is scarce ten to be found. From* Pembrocks *bay to* Harrintons *bay there is not* 20; *from thence to* Cape An, *some* 30; *from* Taulbuts *bay to the Riuer* Charles, *about* 40, *and not any of them touched vvith any sicknes but one poore Frenchman that died.*

For to make triall this yeare, there is gone 6 *or* 7 *saile*

from the West country, onely to fish: three of vvhom are returned, and as I vvas certainly informed, made so good a voyage, that euery sailer for a single share had 20 pounds for his 7 moneths vvork, vvhich is more then in 20 moneths he should haue gotten had he gone for vvages any vvhere.

Now though all the former ships haue not made such good voyages as they expected, by sending opinionated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to saue that they tooke, nor take that there vvas; which now patience and practise hath brought to a reasonable kind of perfection: in despite of all detractors and calumniations, the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath bin in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe nor me.

A plantation in New England

Vpon these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of *London* and other places prouided two ships, the one of 160 Tunnes, the other of 70; they left the coast of *England* the 23 of August, with about 120 persons: but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to *Plimmoth:* where discharging her and 20 passengers, with the great ship and a hundred persons besides sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September, and the ninth of Nouember [1620] fell with *Cape Iames;* but being pestred nine weeks in this leaking vnwholsome ship, lying wet in their cabbins, most of them grew very weake, and weary of the sea; then for want of experience ranging to and again, six weeks before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture in the extremitie of Winter; fortie of them died: and 60 were left in very weake estate at the ships coming away, about the fift of April [1621] following, and ariued in England the sixt of May [1621].

Immediately after her ariuall, from London they sent another of 55 Tunnes to supply them, with 37 persons. They set saile in the beginning of Iuly [1621], but being crossed by Westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plimmoth*, and ariued at *New Plimmoth*, in *New England* the eleuenth of Nouember [1621], where they found all the people they left in April, as is said, lustie and in good health, except six that died.

Within a moneth they returned here for *England*, laded with clapboord, wainscot and walnut; with about three hogsheads of Beuer skins and some Saxefras, the 13 of December [1621]; and drawing neare our coast, was taken by a Frenchman, set out by the Marquis of *Cera* Gouernour of Ile *D[i]eu* on the coast of *Poytou:* where they kept the ship, imprisoned the Master and companie, took from them to the value of about 500 pounds; and after 14 days sent them home with a poore supply of victuall, their owne being deuoured by the Marquis and his hungry seruants. They ariued at London the 14 of Februarie [1622], leauing all them they found and caried to *New England* well and in health, with victuall and corne sufficient till the next haruest.

The copie of [a] Letter sent by this ship

Louing cousin, at our ar[r]iuall at New Plimmoth *in* New England, *we found all our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sicke and weake with very small meanes, the Indians round about vs peaceable and friendly, the country very pleasant and temperate, yielding naturally of it self great store of fruites, as vines of diuers sorts in great abundance. There is likewise walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts and plums, with much varietie of flowers, rootes, and herbs, no lesse pleasant then wholsome and profitable: no place hath more goose-berries and straw-berries, nor better. Timber of all [the] sorts you haue in* England, *doth*

couer the Land, that affoords beasts of diuers sorts, and great flocks of Turkies, Quailes, Pigeons, and Partriges: many great lakes abounding with fish, fowle, Beuers, and Otters. The sea affoords vs as great plenty of all excellent sorts of sea-fish, as the riuers and Iles doth varietie of wilde fowle of most vsefull sorts. Mines we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnesse nor qualitie we know. Better grain cannot be then the Indian corne, if we will plant it vpon as good ground as a man need desire. We are all free-holders, the rent day doth not trouble vs; and all those good blessings we haue, of which and what we list in their seasons for taking. Our companie are for most part very religious honest people; the word of God sincerely taught vs euery Sabbath: so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to me, where I wish all the friends I haue in England, and so I rest

Your louing kinsman
William Hilton.

From the West country, went ten or twelue ships to fish, which were all well fraughted; those that came first at Bilbow *made* 17 *pounds a single share, besides Beuer, Otters and Martins skins: but some of the rest that came to the same ports that were already furnished, so glutted the market, their price was abated; yet all returned so well contented, they are a preparing to go againe.*

There is gone from the West of England *onely to fish* 35 *ships, and about the last of April* [1622] *two more from* London, *the one of* 100 *Tuns, the other of* 30, *with some* 60 *passengers to supply the plantation* [of T. Weston] *with all necessary prouisions.*

Now though the Turke and French hath bin somewhat too busie, would all the Christian princes but be truly at vnitie, as his royal Maiestie our Soueraigne Lord and King desireth, 70 *saile of good ships were sufficient to fire the most of his coasts in the* Leuant,

and make such a guard in the straits of Hellespont, *as would make the great Turke himselfe more afraid in* Constantinople, *then the smallest red crosse,* [*that*] *crosses the seas, would be, either of any* French Piccaroun, *or the pirats of* Argere.

An abstract of Letters sent from the Collony in New England, July 16, 1622.

Since the newes of the massacre in Virginia [22 Mar. 1622], *though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet are we more wary of them then before; for their hands hath bin embrued in much English blood, onely by too much confidence, but not by force.*

Here I must intreate a little your fauours to digresse. They did not kill the English because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beate them out of their dens, which Lions and Tygers would not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an English man, or discourage any either in *Virginia* or *New England?* No: for I haue tried them both.

For *Virginia*, I kept that country with 38, and had not to eate but what we had from the sauages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our common wealth was very strong: with such a number I ranged that vnknown country 14 weeks; I had but 18 to subdue them all, with which great army I stayed six weekes before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutch-men sent at a needlesse excessiue charge did helpe *Powhatan* how to betray me.

Of their numbers we were vncertaine; but them two honorable Gentlemen (Captaine *George Percie* and Captaine *Francis West*, two of the *Phittiplaces*, and some other such noble gentlemen and resolute spirits bore

their shares with me, and now liuing in *England*) did see me take this murdering *Opechankanough* now their great King by the long locke on his head; with my pistole at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before we parted made him fill our Bark of twenty Tuns with corne. When their owne wants was such, I haue giuen them part againe in pittie, and others haue bought it againe to plant their fields.

For wronging a souldier but the value of a peny, I haue caused *Powhatam* send his owne men to *Iames* Towne to receiue their punishment at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremitie they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made *Pocahontas* the Kings daughter the meanes to deliuer me: and thereby taught me to know their trecheries to preserue the rest.

It was also my chance in single combat to take the King of *Paspahegh* prisoner: and by keeping him, forced his subiects to worke in chaines till I made all the country pay contribution; hauing little else whereon to liue.

Twise in this time I was their President, and none can say in all that time I had a man slaine: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and here: yet I left 500 behind me that, through their confidence, in six months came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of *Virginia*.

When I went first to these desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to go; and procrastination caused more [to] run away then went. But after the ice was broken, came many braue voluntaries: notwithstanding since I came from thence, the honorable Company haue bin humble suiters to his Maiestie to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither; nay so much scorned was the name of *Virginia*, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were: yet for all the worst of spite, detraction, and discouragement, and this lamentable massacre, there is more honest men now su[i]ters to go, then euer hath

bin constrained knaues; and it is not vnknown to most men of vnderstanding, how happie many of those Collumners doe thinke themselues, that they might be admitted, and yet pay for their passage to go now to *Virginia:* and had I but meanes to transport as many as would go, I might haue choise of 10000 that would gladly be in any of those new places, which were so basely contemned by vngrateful base minds.

To range this countrey of *New England* in like maner I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruite conditions I met many of their silly incounters, and without any hurt, God be thanked; when your West country men were many of them wounded and much tormented with the sauages that assaulted their ship, as they did say themselues, in the first yeare I was there 1614; and though Master *Hunt*, then Master with me, did most basely in stealing some sauages from that coast to sel, when he was directed to haue gone for Spaine: yet that place [*Patuxet, afterwards called New Plymouth,*] was so remote from *Capawuck*, where *Epenew* should haue fraughted them with gold ore, his fault could be no cause of their bad successe, howeuer it is alledged for an excuse. I speake not this out of vainglory, as it may be some gleaners, or some [that] was neuer there may censure me: but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those sauages are, that thus strangely doe murder and betray our countrey men. But to the purpose.

What is already writ of the healthfulnesse of the aire, the richnesse of the soile, the goodnes of the woods, the abundance of fruits, fish, and fowle in their season, they stil affirm that haue bin there [at New Plymouth] *now neare 2 yeares, and at one draught they haue taken 1000 basses, and in one night twelue hogsheads of herring. They are building a strong fort,* [*which*] *they hope shortly to finish, in the interim they are wel prouided: their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and well neare 60 acres of ground well planted with corne, besides their gardens well replenished with*

vseful fruits; and if their Aduenture[r]s would but furnish them with necessaries for fishing, their wants would quickly be supplied.

To supply them this 16 *of October* [This fixes the month in which this Second Edition was written] *is going the* Paragon *with* 67 *persons, and all this is done by priuat mens purses. And to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all plenties they haue found, they thinke they should not be beleeued.*

For the 26 *saile of ships, the most I can yet vnderstand is,* Master Ambrose Iennens *of* London, *and* Master Abraham Iennens *of* Plimmoth *sent* (*their* Abraham) *a ship of* 220 *Tuns, and the* Nightingale *of* Porchmouth *of* 100.; *whose fish at the first penie came to* 3150 *pounds: in all they were* 35 *saile: and where in* Newfound land *they shared six or seuen pounds for a common man, in* New England *they shared* 14 *pounds; besides, six Dutch and French ships made wonderfull returnes in furres.*

Thus you may see plainely the yearely successe from *New England* (by *Virginia*) which has bin so costly to this kingdome and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleed, pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modestie, to haue bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I may call them my children; for they haue bin my wife, my hawks, my hounds, my cards, my dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right: and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters [that] haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not one English man remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at the first. Not for that I haue any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their discoueries I can yet heare of, are but pigs of my owne sowe; nor more strange to me then to heare

one tell me he hath gone from *Billings* gate and discouered *Greenwich*, *Grauesend*, *Tilbery*, *Quinborow*, *Lee*, *and Margit;* which to those [who] did neuer heare of them, though they dwell in *England*, might be made seem some rare secrets and great countries vnknowne: except the relations of Master *Dirmer*.

In *England* some are held great trauelers that haue seene *Venice* and *Rome*, *Madrill* and *Algere*, *Prague* or *Ragousa*, *Constantinople* or *Ierusalem*, and the Piramides of Egypt; that thinke it nothing to go to the *Summer Iles* or *Virginia:* which is as farre as any of them, and I hope in time will proue a more profitable and a more laudable iourney. As for the danger, you see our Ladies and Gentlewomen account it nothing now to go thither; and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and not suffer them to languish in despaire, whom God so wonderfully and so oft hath preserued.

What here I haue writ by relation, if it be not right, I humbly intreate your pardons; but I haue not spared any diligence to learne the truth of them that haue bin actors or sharers in those voyages: in some particulars they might deceiue me, but in the substances they could not, for few could tell me any thing, except where they fished. But seeing all those [that] haue liued there, do confirme more then I haue writ, I doubt not but all those testimonies with these new begun examples of plantation, will moue both Citie and Country freely to aduenture with me and my partners more then promises, seeing I haue from his Maiestie Letters Pattents, such honest, free, and large conditions assured me from his Commissioners, as I hope will satisfie any honest vnderstanding.

But because some fortune tellers saith, I am vnfortunate, had they spent their time as I haue done, they would rather beleeue in God then their calculations, and peraduenture haue giuen as bad account of their actions; and therefore I intreat leaue to answer those objectors, that think it strange if this be true, I haue made no

more vse of it, rests so long without emploiment, and hath no more reward nor preferment: to which I say:

I thinke it more strange they should taxe me before they haue tried as much as I haue both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Africa*, as *Europe* and *America;* where my commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed to importunate, n[or] could I euer learne to beg: what there I got, I haue thus spent:

These sixteen yeares [1606–1622] I haue spared neither paines nor money according to my abilitie, first to procure his Maiesties Letters pattents, and a Company here to be the means to raise a company to go with me to *Virginia*, as is said: which beginning here and there cost me neare 5 yeares [1604–1609] worke, and more then 500 pounds of my owne estate, besides all the dangers, miseries, and incumbrances I endured gratis: where I stayed till I left 500 better prouided then euer I was; from which blessed Virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of *Somer Iles*.

This Virgins sister, now called *New England*, *an.* 1616. at my humble suit by our most gracious Prince *Charles*, hath bin neare as chargeable to me and my friends: for all which I neuer got shilling, but it cost me many a pound, yet I thinke my selfe happie to see their prosperities.

If it yet trouble a multitude to proceed vpon these certainties, what think you I vndertook when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast land. I neuer had power and meanes to do any thing, though more hath bin spent in formall delayes then would haue done the businesse; but in such a penurious and miserable manner as if I had gone a begging to build an Vniuersitie: where had men bin as forward to aduenture their purses and performe the conditions they promised me, as to crop the fruites of my labours, thousands ere this had bin bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spur of Desire and the bridle of Reason I am neare ridden to death in a ring of despaire; the raines are in your hands, therefore I intreate you to ease me: and

those that think I am either idle or vnfortunate, may see the cause and know: vnlesse I did see better dealing, I haue had warning enough, not to be so forward again at euery motion vpon their promises, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carry newes. For now they dare aduenture a ship, that when I went first, would not aduenture a groate, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmas: which makes me remember Master *Hacklu[y]ts;* oh incredulitie! the wit of fooles, that slouenly do spit at all things faire; a sluggards cradle, a cowards costle, how easie it is to be an infidell. But to the purpose.

By this all men may perceiue the ordinary performance of this voyage in fiue or six moneths, the plenty of fish is most certainly approued: and it is certain, from *Cannada* and *New England* within these six yeares [1615–1620] hath come neare 20000 Beuer skins. Now had each of those ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing beasts, fowles, plants, and seeds, as I proiected; by this time their increase might haue bin sufficient for a thousand men. But the desire of present gain (in many) is so violent, and the endeuors of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding their priuate gaine, that it is hard to effect any publick good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnlesse both authoritie and mony assist experiences. It is not a worke for euery one to plant a Colonie; but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of art, iudgement, courage, honestie, constancie, diligence, and experience to do but neare well: your home bred ingrossing proiectors shall finde there [is] a great difference betwixt saying and doing.

But to conclude, the fishing wil go forward if you plant it or no; whereby a Colonie may be transported with no great charge, that in a short time might prouide such fraughts to buy of vs there dwelling, as I would hope no ship should go or come empty from *New England.*

The charge of this is onely salt, nets, hookes, lines,

kniues, Irish rugs, course cloth, beades, glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the sauages, beside our owne necessary prouisions, whose endeuours wil quickly defray all this charge; and the sauages haue intreated me to inhabite where I will.

Now all these ships, till this last yeare [1621], haue bin fished [*fishing*] within a square of two or 3 leagues, and not one of them all would aduenture any further: where questionlesse 500 saile may haue their fraught better then in *Island*, *Newfoundland*, or else where, and be in their markets before the other can haue their fish in their ships, because *New Englands* fishing begins with February, the other not till mid May; the progression hereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia* and the *Bermudas*, whose emptie ships may take in their fraught there, and would be a good friend in time of need to the inhabitants of *New foundland*.

The returnes made by the Westerne ships, are commonly deuided into three parts, one for the owner of the ship, another for the Master and his companie, the third for the victuallers: which course being still permitted, wil be no hindrance to the plantation, go there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yearly for little or nothing, which otherwise will cost many a hundred of pounds.

If a ship can gaine twentie, thirtie, fiftie in the 100, nay 300 for 100. in 7 moneths, as you see they haue done; spending twise so much time in going and coming as in staying there: were I there planted, seeing the varietie of the fishings in their seasons serueth the most part of the yeare, and with a little labour we might make all the salt we need vse. I can conceiue no reason to distrust, but the doubling and trebling their gaines that are at all the former charge, and can fish but two moneths in a yeare: and if those do giue 20. 30. or 40. Shillings for an acre of land, or ship carpenters, forgers of iron, &c., that buy all things at a deare rate, grow rich; when they may haue as good of all needful necessaries for taking (in my opinion) should not grow poore,

and no commodity in *Europe* doth more decay then wood.

Master *Dee* recordeth in his *Brittish Monarchie* [1577], that King *Edgar* had a nauie of 4000 saile, with which he yearely made his progresse about his famous Monarchie of *Great Brittaine*, largely declaring the benefit thereof: whereupon it seemes he proiected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleete of 60 saile, he called a little Nauie Royall; imitating the admired *Pericles* Prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captain of the Sea.

At this none need wonder; for who knowes not, her Royall Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royall Nauy, and valiant souldiers and seamen, notwithstanding all trecheries at home, the protecting and defending [of] *France* and *Holland*, and reconquering *Ireland*, yet all the world by sea or land both feared, loued, and admired good Queen *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successour, our most Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *Iames*, &c., this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiestie and his kingdomes consideration:

That if the Tenths of the Earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea: the Kings high wayes are common to passe, but not to dig for mines or any thing: so *Englands* coasts are free to passe, but not to fish but by his Maiesties prerogatiue.

His Maiesty of *Spaine* permits none to passe the Popes order for the East and West *Indies*, but by his permission, or at their perils. If all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her own shores as strangers do, that pay to their own Lord, the tenth, and not to the owner of those liberties any thing to speake of; whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their territories: which small tribute would maintain this little Nauie Royall, and not cost his Maiestie a penny; and yet maintaine

peace with all forreiners, and allow them more courtesie, then any nation in the world affoords to *England*.

It were a shame to alleage, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fishings as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wooll and vndressed cloth, notwithstanding all their wars and troublesome disorders.

To get mony to build this Nauy, he saith, who would not spare the 100 peny of his Rents, and the 500 peny of his goods; each seruant that taketh 40.s. wages 4.d.; and euery forreiner of 7 yeares of age 4.d. for 7 yeares; not any of these but they will spend 3 times so much in pride, wantonnesse, or some superfluitie. And do any men loue the securitie of their estates, that of themselues would not be humble su[i]ters to his Maiestie to do this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, or but one halfe of this (or some such other course as I haue propounded to diuers of the Companies) free from any constraint, taxe, lottery, or imposition, so it may be as honestly and truly employed as it is proiected, the poorest mechanick in this kingdom would gaine by it.

You might build ships of any proportion and numbers you please, fiue times cheaper then you can do here, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne land, to the aduancement of Gods glorie, his Church and Gospel, and the strengthening and reliefe of a great part of Christendome, without hurt to any; to the terror of pyrats, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing of Merchants, and so much increase of Nauigation to make *Englands* trade and shipping as much as any nation in the world, besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all good subiects, and would cause thousands yet vnborn [to] blesse the time and all them that first put it in practise.

Now lest it should be obscured as it hath bin to priuate ends, or so weakly vndertaken by our ouerweening incredulitie, that strangers may possesse it, whilest we contend for *New Englands* good[s], but not

Englands good; I present this to your Highnes and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping by your gracious good liking and approbation to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble Citie, and all the Cities and Countries in the whole Land to consider of it, since I can finde them wood and halfe victuall, with the aforesaid aduantages, with what facilitie they may build and maintaine this little Nauie Royall, both with honour, profit, and content, and inhabite as good a country as any in the world, within that parallel: which with my life and what I haue I wil endeuour to effect, if God please, and you permit.

But no man wil go from hence, to haue lesse freedome there then here; nor aduenture all they haue, to prepare the way for them that know it not: and it is too well knowne there hath bin so many vndertakers of Patents and such sharing of them, as hath bred no lesse discouragement then wonder, to heare such great promises and so little performances. In the interim, you see the *Dutch* and *French* already frequent it: and God forbid them in *Virginia* or any of his Maiesties subiects should not haue as free libertie as they. To conclude, were it not for Master *Pierce* and a few priuate Aduenturers with him [*i.e., the Pilgrim Fathers*], what haue we there for all these inducements?

As for them, whom pride or couetousnes lulleth asleep in a cradle of slothfull carelesnes, would they but consider how all the great Monarchies of the earth haue bin brought to confusion; or but remember the late lamentable experience of *Constantinople;* and how many Cities, Townes, and Prouinces in the faire rich kingdoms of *Hungaria*, *Transiluania*, *Wallachia* and *Moldauia;* and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Merchants, and others, haue in one day lost goods, liues, and honors, or sold for slaues like beasts in a market place; their wiues, children, and seruants slaine or wandring they knew not whither, dying, or liuing in all extremities of extreame miseries and calamities. Surely they would not onely do this, but giue all they haue to enioy peace and libertie at

home; or but aduenture their persons abroad, to preuent the conclusions of a conquering foe, who commonly assaulteth and best preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plentie (most armed) with ignorance and securitie.

Though the true condition of war is onely to suppresse the proud, and defend the innocent and humble, as did that most generous Prince *Sigismundus Bathor* Prince of those countries, against them, whom vnder the colour of iustice and pietie, to maintaine their superfluitie of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintaine their vice, and vndoe them, or keepe them from abilitie to do anything that would not admire and adore their honors, fortunes, couetousnes, falshood, bribery, crueltie, extortion, and ingratitude, which is worse then cowardize or ignorance, and all maner of vildnesse, cleane contrary to all honour, vertue, and noblenesse.

Much more could I say, but lest I should be too tedious to your more serious affaires, I humbly craue your honourable and fauourable constructions and pardons if any thing be amisse.

If any desire to be further satisfied, they may reade my *Description of Virginia* and *New England*, and peruse them with their seuerall Maps: what defect you finde in them, they shall find supplied in me or my authors, that thus freely hath throwne my selfe with my mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God will stir vp some noble spirits to consider and examine if worthy *Collumbus* could giue the *Spaniards* any such certainties for his designe, when Queene *Isabel* of *Spaine* set him foorth with fifteene saile. And though I can promise no Mines of gold, yet the warlike *Hollanders* let vs imitate, but not hate: whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing.

Therefore (honorable and worthy Countrymen) let not the meannesse of the word *Fish* distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of *Guiana* or *Tumbatu*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certaintie and facilitie; and so I humbly rest.

WINSLOW'S RELATION

To all well-willers and furtherers of Plantations in New England, especially to such as ever have or desire to assist the people of Plymouth in their just proceedings, grace and peace be multiplied.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND WORSHIPFUL GENTLEMEN, OR WHATSOEVER,

SINCE it hath pleased God to stir you up to be instruments of his glory in so honourable an enterprise as the enlarging of his Majesty's dominions by planting his loyal subjects in so healthful and hopeful a country as New England is, where the church of God being seated in sincerity, there is no less hope of convincing the heathen of their evil ways, and converting them to the true knowledge and worship of the living God, and so consequently the salvation of their souls by the merits of Jesus Christ, than elsewhere, though it be much talked on and lightly or lamely prosecuted,—I therefore think it but my duty to offer the view of our proceedings to your worthy considerations, having to that end composed them together thus briefly, as you see; wherein, to your great encouragement, you may behold the good providence of God working with you in our preservation from so many dangerous plots and treacheries as have been intended against us, as also in giving his blessing so powerfully upon the weak means we had, enabling us with health and ability beyond expectation in our greatest scarcities, and possessing the hearts of the salvages with astonishment and fear of us; whereas if God had let them loose, they might easily have swallowed us up, scarce being a handful in comparison of those forces they might have gathered together against us; which now, by God's blessing, will be more hard and difficult, in regard our

number of men is increased, our town better fortified, and our store better victualled. Blessed therefore be his name, that hath done so great things for us and hath wrought so great a change amongst us.

Accept, I pray you, my weak endeavours, pardon my unskilfulness, and bear with my plainness in the things I have handled. Be not discouraged by our former necessities, but rather encouraged with us, hoping that as God hath wrought with us in our beginning of this worthy work, undertaken in his name and fear, so he will by us accomplish the same to his glory and our comfort, if we neglect not the means. I confess it hath not been much less chargeable to some of you[1] than hard and difficult to us, that have endured the brunt of the battle, and yet small profits returned. Only, by God's mercy, we are safely seated, housed, and fortified, by which means a great step is made unto gain, and a more direct course taken for the same, than if at first we had rashly and covetously fallen upon it.

Indeed three things are the overthrow and bane, as I may term it, of plantations.

1. The vain expectation of present profit, which too commonly taketh a principal seat in the heart and affection, though God's glory, etc., is preferred before it in the mouth with protestation.

2. Ambition in their governors and commanders, seeking only to make themselves great, and slaves of all that are under them, to maintain a transitory base honour in themselves, which God oft punisheth with contempt.

3. The carelessness of those that send over supplies of men unto them, not caring how they be qualified; so that ofttimes they are rather the image of men endued with bestial, yea, diabolical affections, than the image of God, endued with reason, understanding, and holiness. I praise God I speak not these things experimentally, by way of complaint of our own condition, but having great cause on the contrary part to

[1] The merchant adventurers.

be thankful to God for his mercies towards us; but rather, if there be any too desirous of gain, to entreat them to moderate their affections, and consider that no man expecteth fruit before the tree be grown; advising all men, that as they tender their own welfare, so to make choice of such to manage and govern their affairs, as are approved not to be seekers of themselves, but the common good of all for whom they are employed; and beseeching such as have the care of transporting men for the supply and furnishing of plantations, to be truly careful in sending such as may further and not hinder so good an action. There is no godly, honest man but will be helpful in his kind, and adorn his profession with an upright life and conversation; which doctrine of manners[1] ought first to be preached by giving good example to the poor savage heathens amongst whom they live. On the contrary part, what great offence hath been given by many profane men, who being but seeming Christians, have made Christ and Christianity stink in the nostrils of the poor infidels, and so laid a stumbling-block before them. But woe be to them by whom such offences come.

These things I offer to your Christian considerations, beseeching you to make a good construction of my simple meaning, and take in good part this ensuing Relation, dedicating myself and it evermore unto your service; beseeching God to crown our Christian and faithful endeavours with his blessings temporal and eternal.

Yours in this service,
Ever to be commanded,
E. W.[2]

[1] This sentiment shows how little obnoxious the first settlers of New England were to the charge of fanaticism, which has often been alleged against them by persons alike ignorant of their spirit and their history.

[2] Edward Winslow was, according to Hutchinson, "of a very reputable family and of a very active genius"—"a gentleman of the best family of any of the Plymouth planters, his father, Edward Winslow, Esq., being a person of some figure at Droit-

wich, in Worcestershire," a town seven miles from Worcester, celebrated for its salt springs. Edward was the eldest of eight children, and was born at Droitwich Oct. 19, 1595, as appears from the following extract from the records of St. Peter's church in that place: "1595, Oct. 20, baptized Edward, son of Edward Winslow, born the previous Friday," which was the 19th. His mother's name was Magdalen; her surname is unknown; she was married Nov. 3, 1594. He was not one of the original band of Pilgrims who escaped to Holland in 1608, but being on his travels, fell in with them at Leyden, in 1617, as we learn from his *Brief Narration*, where he speaks of "living three years under Mr. Robinson's ministry before we began the work of plantation in New England." His name stands the third among the signers of the Compact on board the *Mayflower;* and his family consisted at that time of his wife, Elizabeth, George Soule, and two others, perhaps his children, Edward and John, who died young. As has already been seen, and will hereafter appear, he was one of the most energetic and trusted men in the Colony. He went to England in 1623, 1624, 1635 and 1646, as agent of the Plymouth or Massachusetts colonies; and in 1633 he was chosen governor, to which office he was re-elected in 1636 and 1644. He did not return to New England after 1646. In 1655 he was sent by Cromwell as one of three commissioners to superintend the expedition against the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, and died at sea, near Hispaniola, on the 8th of May of that year, in his 60th year. An interesting letter, written by him at Barbadoes, March 16, and addressed to Secretary Thurloe, is preserved in Thurloe's *State Papers,* iii. 250. Three letters of his to Gov. Winthrop, one to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and another to Thurloe from Barbadoes, March 30, are contained in Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers,* pp. 60, 110, 153, 228, 268.

In 1637 he obtained a grant of a valuable tract of land at Green's harbour, now Marshfield, to which he gave the name of Careswell. This estate continued in the family till a few years since, when it came into possession of Daniel Webster, the late Secretary of State.

Edward Winslow's son, (2) Josiah, born at Plymouth in 1628, was governor of the Colony, from 1673 to his death in 1680, and commanded the New England forces in Philip's war. (3) Isaac, his only surviving son, sustained the chief civil and military offices in the county of Plymouth after its incorporation with Massachusetts, and was President of the Provincial Council. He died in 1738, aged 68. (4) John, his son, was a captain in the expedition against Cuba in 1740, a colonel at Louisburgh in 1744, and afterwards a major-general in the British service. He died in 1774, aged 71. His son, (5) Isaac, was a physician in Marshfield, and died in 1819, aged 80. His only son, (6) John, was an attorney, and died in 1822, aged 48. His only surviving son, (7) Isaac, and the last surviving male descendant of Gov. Edward, of the name of Winslow, born in 1813, resides in Boston, and possesses original portraits of these his illustrious ancestors. See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxvii. 286.

Edward Winslow had four brothers, all of whom came over to New England. Their names were, John, born in April, 1597; Kenelm, born April 29, 1599; Gilbert, born in Oct. 1600; and Josiah, born in Feb. 1605.—John came in the *Fortune* in 1621, married Mary Chilton, who came in the *Mayflower*, and removed to Boston, in 1655, where he died in 1674, aged 77. He left a numerous posterity, one of whom is Isaac Winslow, Esq., of Roxbury, formerly a merchant in Boston.—Gilbert came in the *Mayflower*, and soon left the Colony, and it is thought went to Portsmouth, N. H. and died before 1660.—Kenelm and Josiah arrived at Plymouth before 1632, and both settled at Marshfield. The former died whilst on a visit at Salem in 1672, aged 73, and the latter in 1674, aged 69.—Edward Winslow's sisters were Eleanor, born in April, 1598, Elizabeth, born in March, 1601, and Magdalen, born Dec. 26, 1604. Elizabeth died in Jan. 1604, and neither of the other two ever came to New England.

For the copy of the record of St. Peter's church, Droitwich, containing the births and baptisms of Edward Winslow and his sisters and brothers, excepting Josiah, I am indebted to Isaac Winslow, Esq., of Roxbury, whose son, Isaac, of New York, visited that place for this purpose in Aug. 1839. I am also indebted to Mr. Isaac Winslow, of Boston, for the loan of the family Bible of the Winslows, containing on one of its covers an ancient register, corresponding nearly with the Droitwich records, with the addition of the birth and baptism of Josiah, the youngest child. See Hutchinson's *Mass.*, i. 187, ii. 457–460; Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 281–309; Mitchell's *Bridgewater*, pp. 387–390; Deane's *Scituate*, pp. 388–390; Thacher's *Plymouth*, pp. 90–103, 139–144; Morton's *Memorial*, pp. 178, 235, 259–261, 382, 415; Hazard's *Hist. Coll.*, i. 326.

TO THE READER

GOOD READER,

When I first penned this Discourse, I intended it chiefly for the satisfaction of my private friends; but since that time have been persuaded to publish the same. And the rather, because of a disorderly colony [1] that are dispersed, and most of them returned, to the great prejudice and damage of him [2] that set them forth; who, as they were a stain to Old England that bred them, in respect of their lives and manners amongst the Indians, so, it is to be feared, will be no less to New England, in their vile and clamorous reports, because she would not foster them in their desired idle courses. I would not be understood to think there were no well deserving persons amongst them; for of mine knowledge it was a grief to some that they were so yoked; whose deserts, as they were then suitable to their honest protestations, so I desire still may be in respect of their just and true Relations.

Peradventure thou wilt rather marvel that I deal so plainly, than any way doubt of the truth of this my Relation; yea, it may be, tax me therewith, as seeming rather to discourage men than any way to further so noble an action. If any honest mind be discouraged, I am sorry. Sure I am I have given no just cause; and am so far from being discouraged myself, as I purpose to return forthwith.[3] And for other light and vain persons, if they stumble hereat, I have my desire, accounting it better for them and us that they keep where

[1] At Wessagusset, or Weymouth, of which an ample account will be found in the ensuing Narrative.

[2] Thomas Weston.

[3] Winslow returned in the ship *Charity*, in March, 1624. He had been absent six months, having sailed from Plymouth in the *Anne*, on the 10th of Sept. previous. See Bradford, in Prince, pp. 221, 225.

they are, as being unfit and unable to perform so great a task.

Some faults have escaped because I could not attend on the press,[1] which I pray thee correct, as thou findest, and I shall account it as a favour unto me.

Thine,

E. W.

1 This serves to confirm the statement of numerous typographical errors in the previous Narrative.

A BRIEF RELATION OF A CREDIBLE INTELLIGENCE OF THE PRESENT ESTATE OF VIRGINIA

At the earnest entreaty of some of my much respected friends, I have added to the former Discourse a Relation of such things as were credibly reported at Plymouth, in New England, in September last past, concerning the present estate of Virginia. And because men may doubt how we should have intelligence of their affairs, being we are so far distant, I will therefore satisfy the doubtful therein. Captain Francis West[1] being in New England about the latter end of May past, sailed from thence to Virginia, and returned in August. In September the same ship and company being discharged by him at Damarin's Cove,[2] came to New Plymouth, where, upon our earnest inquiry after the state of Virginia since that bloody slaughter committed by the Indians upon our friends and countrymen,[3] the whole ship's company agreed in this, viz. that upon all occasions they chased the Indians to and fro, insomuch as they sued daily unto the English for peace, who for the present would not admit of any; that Sir George Early,[4] etc., was at that present employed upon service against them; that amongst many others, Opachancano,[5] the chief emperor, was sup-

[1] West had a commission as admiral of New England, to restrain such ships as came to fish and trade without license from the New England Council; but finding the fishermen stubborn fellows, and too strong for him, he sails for Virginia; and their owners complaining to Parliament, procured an order that fishing should be free.—Bradford, in Prince, p. 218, and in Morton, p. 97.

[2] The Damariscove islands, five or six in number, lying west by north from Monhegan, were early resorted to and occupied as fishing-stages. See Williamson's *Maine*, i. 56.

[3] On the 22d of March, 1622, at mid-day, the Indians, by a preconcerted plan, fell upon the English settlements in Virginia, and massacred 347 persons. A war of extermination immediately ensued. See Smith's *Virginia*, ii. 64–79, and *Stith*, pp. 208–213.

[4] Yeardley.

[5] Opechancanough, as the name is commonly spelt.

posed to be slain; his son also was killed at the same time. And though, by reason of these forenamed broils in the fore part of the year, the English had undergone great want of food, yet, through God's mercy, there never was more show of plenty, having as much and as good corn on the ground as ever they had. Neither was the hopes of their tobacco crop inferior to that of their corn; so that the planters were never more full of encouragement; which I pray God long to continue, and so to direct both them and us, as his glory may be the principal aim and end of all our actions, and that for his mercy's sake. Amen.

OF THEIR BEING MENACED BY THE NARRAGANSETTS, AND THEIR SECOND VOYAGE TO THE MASSACHUSETTS

THE good ship called the *Fortune*, which, in the month of November, 1621, (blessed be God,) brought us a new supply of thirty-five persons, was not long departed our coast, ere the great people of Nanohigganset,[1] which are reported to be many thousands strong, began to breathe forth many threats against us, notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with us in the foregoing summer; insomuch as the common talk of our neighbour Indians on all sides was of the preparation they made to come against us. In reason a man would think they should have now more cause to fear us than before our supply came. But though none of them were present, yet understanding by others that they neither brought arms, nor other provisions with them, but wholly relied on us, it occasioned them to slight and brave us with so many threats as they did.[2] At length came one of them to us, who

1 The Narragansetts were a numerous and powerful tribe that occupied nearly the whole of the present territory of the State of Rhode Island, including the islands in Narragansett Bay. They had escaped the pestilence which had depopulated other parts of New England, and their population at this time was estimated at thirty thousand, of whom five thousand were warriors. Roger Williams says they were so populous that a traveller would meet with a dozen Indian towns in twenty miles. They were a martial and formidable race, and were frequently at war with the Pokanokets on the east, the Pequots on the west, and the Massachusetts on the north. See Gookin in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 147; Callender in *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 123; Potter's *Early History of Narragansett*, ibid., iii. 1, and Hutchinson's *Mass.*, i. 457.

2 "Since the death of so many Indians, they thought to lord it over the rest, conceive we are a bar in their way, and see Massasoit already take shelter under our wings."—Bradford's *Hist.* quoted by Prince, p. 200.

was sent by Conànacus,[1] their chief sachim or king, accompanied with one Tokamahamon, a friendly Indian. This messenger inquired for Tisquantum, our interpreter, who not being at home, seemed rather to be glad than sorry, and leaving for him a bundle of new arrows, lapped in a rattlesnake's skin, desired to depart with all expedition. But our governors not knowing what to make of this strange carriage, and comparing it with that we had formerly heard, committed him to the custody of Captain Standish, hoping now to know some certainty of that we so often heard, either by his own relation to us, or to Tisquantum, at his return, desiring myself, having special familiarity with the other forenamed Indian, to see if I could learn any thing from him; whose answer was sparingly to this effect, that he could not certainly tell us, but thought they were enemies to us.

That night Captain Standish gave me and another[2] charge of him, and gave us order to use him kindly, and that he should not want anything he desired, and to take all occasions to talk and inquire of the reasons

1 Canonicus, the great sachem of the Narragansetts, though hostile to the Plymouth colonists, probably on account of their league with his enemy, Massasoit, showed himself friendly to the first settlers of Rhode Island, who planted themselves within his territory. Roger Williams says that "when the hearts of my countrymen and friends failed me, the Most High stirred up the barbarous heart of Connonicus to love me as his son to the last gasp. Were it not for the favour that God gave me with him, none of these parts, no, not Rhode Island had been purchased or obtained; for I never gat any thing of Connonicus but by gift." In 1636 the Massachusetts Colony sent to him "a solemn embassage," who "observed in the sachem much state, great command over his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers." Edward Johnson, who probably accompanied the ambassadors, has given in his *Wonderworking Providence*, b. ii., ch. vi. a very minute account of their reception and entertainment. He says that "Canonicus was very discreet in his answers." He died June 4th, 1647, according to Winthrop, "a very old man." See his Life in Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, i. 177–209, and in Drake's *Book of the Indians*, b. ii. 54–57. See also *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 215, 229, xiv. 42–44, xvii. 75, 76; Savage's *Winthrop*, i. 192, ii. 308.

2 Probably Stephen Hopkins.

of those reports we heard, and withal to signify that upon his true relation he should be sure of his own freedom. At first, fear so possessed him that he could scarce say any thing; but in the end became more familiar, and told us that the messenger which his master sent in summer to treat of peace, at his return persuaded him rather to war; and to the end he might provoke him thereunto (as appeared to him by our reports), detained many of the things [which] were sent him by our Governor, scorning the meanness of them both in respect of what himself had formerly sent, and also of the greatness of his own person; so that he much blamed the former messenger, saying, that upon the knowledge of this his false carriage, it would cost him his life, but assured us that upon his relation of our speech then with him to his master, he would be friends with us. Of this we informed the Governor and his Assistant [1] and Captain Standish, who, after consultation, considered him howsoever but in the state of a messenger; and it being as well against the law of arms amongst them as us in Europe to lay violent hands on any such, set him at liberty; the Governor giving him order to certify his master that he had heard of his large and many threatenings, at which he was much offended; daring him in those respects to the utmost, if he would not be reconciled to live peaceably, as other his neighbours; manifesting withal (as ever) his desire of peace, but his fearless resolution, if he could not so live amongst them. After which he caused meat to be offered him; but he refused to eat, making all speed to return, and giving many thanks for his liberty, but requesting the other Indian again to return. The weather being violent, he used many words to persuade him to stay longer, but could not. Whereupon he left him, and said he was with his friends, and would not take a journey in such extremity.

After this, when Tisquantum returned, and the arrows were delivered, and the manner of the messenger's carriage related, he signified to the Governor

[1] Isaac Allerton.

that to send the rattlesnake's skin in that manner imported enmity, and that it was no better than a challenge.[1] Hereupon, after some deliberation, the Governor stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and sent it back, returning no less defiance to Conanacus, assuring him if he had shipping now present, thereby to send his men to Nanohigganset (the place of his abode), they should not need to come so far by land to us; yet withal showing that they should never come unwelcome or unlooked for. This message was sent by an Indian, and delivered in such sort, as it was no small terror to this savage king; insomuch as he would not once touch the powder and shot, or suffer it to stay in his house or country. Whereupon the messenger refusing it, another took it up; and having been posted from place to place a long time, at length came whole back again.

In the mean time, knowing our own weakness, notwithstanding our high words and lofty looks towards them, and still lying open to all casualty, having as yet (under God) no other defence than our arms, we thought it most needful to impale our town; which with all expedition we accomplished in the month of February, and some few days, taking in the top of the hill under which our town is seated; making four bulwarks or jetties without the ordinary circuit of the pale, from whence we could defend the whole town; in three whereof are gates,[2] and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captain Standish divided our strength into four squadrons or companies, appointing whom he thought most fit to have command of each; and, at a

[1] "There is a remarkable coincidence in the form of this challonge with that of the challenge given by the Scythian prince to Darius. Five arrows made a part of the present sent by his herald to the Persian king. The manner of declaring war by the Aracaunian Indians of South America, was by sending from town to town an arrow clenched in a dead man's hand."—Holmes, *Annals*, i. 177. See Rollin, *Anc. Hist.*, b. vi., s. 4; and *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xv. 69.

[2] Bradford adds, "Which are locked every night; a watch and ward kept in the day."—Prince, p. 200.

general muster or training,[1] appointed each his place, gave each his company, giving them charge, upon every alarm, to resort to their leaders to their appointed place, and, in his absence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his company to his appointed place for defence, and there together discharged their muskets. After which they brought their new commanders to their houses, where again they graced them with their shot, and so departed.

Fearing, also, lest the enemy at any time should take any advantage by firing our houses, Captain Standish appointed a certain company, that whensoever they saw or heard fire to be cried in the town, should only betake themselves to their arms, and should enclose the house or place so endangered, and stand aloof on their guard, with their back towards the fire, to prevent treachery, if any were in that kind intended. If the fire were in any of the houses of this guard, they were then freed from it; but not otherwise, without special command.

Long before this time we promised the people of Massachusets, in the beginning of March to come unto them, and trade for their furs; which being then come, we began to make preparation for that voyage. In the mean time, an Indian, called Hobbamock, who still lived in the town, told us that he feared the Massachusets or Massachuseucks (for so they called the people of that place,) were joined in confederacy with the Nanohigganeucks, or people of Nanohigganset, and that they therefore would take this opportunity to cut off Captain Standish and his company abroad; but, howsoever, in the mean time, it was to be feared that the Nanohigganeucks would assault the town at home; giving many reasons for his jealousy, as also that Tisquantum was in the confederacy, who, we should find, would use many persuasions to draw us from our

[1] This was the first general muster in New England, and the embryo of our present militia system.

shallops to the Indians' houses, for their better advantage. To confirm this his jealousy, he told us of many secret passages that passed between him and others, having their meetings ordinarily abroad, in the woods; but if at home, howsoever, he was excluded from their secrecy; saying it was the manner of the Indians, when they meant plainly, to deal openly; but in this his practice there was no show of honesty.

Hereupon the Governor, together with his Assistant and Captain Standish, called together such as by them were thought most meet for advice in so weighty a business; who, after consideration hereof, came to this resolution; that as hitherto, upon all occasions between them and us, we had ever manifested undaunted courage and resolution, so it would not now stand with our safety to mew up ourselves in our new-enclosed town; partly because our store was almost empty, and therefore must seek out for our daily food, without which we could not long subsist; but especially for that thereby they would see us dismayed, and be encouraged to prosecute their malicious purposes with more eagerness than ever they intended. Whereas, on the contrary, by the blessing of God, our fearless carriage might be a means to discourage and weaken their proceedings. And therefore thought best to proceed in our trading voyage, making this use of that we heard, to go the better provided, and use the more carefulness both at home and abroad, leaving the event to the disposing of the Almighty; whose providence, as it had hitherto been over us for good, so we had now no cause (save our sins) to despair of his mercy in our preservation and continuance, where we desired rather to be instruments of good to the heathens about us than to give them the least measure of just offence.

All things being now in readiness, the forenamed Captain, with ten men, accompanied with Tisquantum and Hobbamock, set forwards for the Massachusets. But we [1] had no sooner turned the point of the harbour,

1 This indicates that the writer himself, Winslow, was one of the party.

called the Gurnet's Nose[1] (where, being becalmed, we let fall our grapnel to set things to right and prepare to row), but there came an Indian of Tisquantum's family running to certain of our people that were from home with all eagerness, having his face wounded, and the blood still fresh on the same, calling to them to repair home, oft looking behind him, as if some others had him in chase; saying that at Namaschet (a town some fifteen miles from us,) there were many of the Nanohigganset, Massassowat,[2] our supposed friend, and Conbatant,[3] our feared enemy, with many others, with a resolution to take advantage on the present opportunity to assault the town in the Captain's absence; affirming that he received the wound in his face for speaking in our behalf, and by sleight escaped; looking oft backward, as if he suspected them to be at hand. This he affirmed again to the Governor; whereupon he gave command that three pieces of ordnance should be made ready and discharged, to the end that if we were not out of hearing, we might return thereat; which we no sooner heard, but we repaired homeward with all convenient speed, arming ourselves, and making all in readiness to fight. When we entered the harbour, we saw the town likewise on their guard, whither we hasted with all convenient speed. The news being made known unto us, Hobbamock said flatly that it was

[1] So early was the name of Gurnet given to this remarkable feature of Plymouth harbour. It is a peninsula or promontory, connected with Marshfield by a beach about six miles long, called Salthouse beach. It contains about twenty-seven acres of excellent soil. On its southern extremity, or nose, are two light-houses. It probably received its name from some headland known to the Pilgrims in the mother country. The late Samuel Davis, of Plymouth, the accurate topographer, and faithful chronicler of the Old Colony, says "Gurnet is the name of several places on the coast of England; in the Channel we believe there are at least two." Connected with the Gurnet by a narrow neck, and contiguous to Clark's island, is another headland, called Saquish, containing ten or fourteen acres. See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xiii. 182, 204, and Thacher's *Plymouth*, p. 330.

[2] The sachem of the Wampanoags.

[3] The same as Coubatant or Corbitant.

false, assuring us of Massassowat's faithfulness. Howsoever, he presumed he would never have undertaken any such act without his privity, himself being a *pinse*,[1] that is, one of his chiefest champions or men of valour; it being the manner amongst them not to undertake such enterprises without the advice and furtherance of men of that rank. To this the Governor answered, he should be sorry that any just and necessary occasions of war should arise between him and any [of] the savages, but especially Massassowat; not that he feared him more than the rest, but because his love more exceeded towards him than any. Whereunto Hobbamock replied, there was no cause wherefore he should distrust him, and therefore should do well to continue his affections.

But to the end things might be made more manifest, the Governor caused Hobbamock to send his wife with all privacy to Puckanokick, the chief place of Massassowat's residence (pretending other occasions), there to inform herself, and so us, of the right state of things. When she came thither, and saw all things quiet, and that no such matter was or had been intended, [she] told Massassowat what had happened at Plymouth (by them called Patuxet); which, when he understood, he was much offended at the carriage of Tisquantum, returning many thanks to the Governor for his good thoughts of him, and assuring him that, according to their first Articles of Peace, he would send word and give warning when any such business was towards.

Thus by degrees we began to discover Tisquantum, whose ends were only to make himself great in the eyes of his countrymen, by means of his nearness and favour with us; not caring who fell, so he stood. In the general, his course was to persuade them he could lead us to peace or war at his pleasure, and would oft threaten the Indians, sending them word in a private manner we were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby he might get gifts to himself, to work their

[1] What is now called a *brave*.

peace; insomuch as they had him in greater esteem than many of their sachims; yea, they themselves sought to him, who promised them peace in respect of us, yea, and protection also, so as they would resort to him; so that whereas divers were wont to rely on Massassowat for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leave him and seek after Tisquantum. Now, though he could not make good these his large promises, especially because of the continued peace between Massassowat and us, he therefore raised this false alarm; hoping, whilst things were hot in the heat of blood, to provoke us to march into his country against him, whereby he hoped to kindle such a flame as would not easily be quenched; and hoping if that block were once removed, there were no other between him and honour, which he loved as his life, and preferred before his peace. For these and the like abuses the Governor sharply reproved him; yet was he so necessary and profitable an instrument, as at that time we could not miss him. But when we understood his dealings, we certified all the Indians of our ignorance and innocency therein; assuring them, till they begun with us, they should have no cause to fear; and if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liars and seekers of their and our disturbance; which gave the Indians good satisfaction on all sides.

After this we proceeded in our voyage to the Massachusets; where we had good store of trade,[1] and (blessed be God) returned in safety, though driven from before our town in great danger and extremity of weather.

At our return we found Massassowat at the Plantation; who made his seeming just apology for all former matters of accusation, being much offended and enraged against Tisquantum; whom the Governor pacified as much as he could for the present. But not long after his departure, he sent a messenger to the Governor, entreating him to give way to the death of Tisquantum,

[1] We should like to have known more about this second voyage to Boston harbour.

who had so much abused him. But the Governor answered, although he had deserved to die, both in respect of him and us, yet for our sakes he desired he would spare him; and the rather, because without him he knew not well how to understand himself or any other the Indians. With this answer the messenger returned, but came again not long after, accompanied with divers others, demanding him from [1] Massassowat, their master, as being one of his subjects, whom, by our first Articles of Peace, we could not retain. Yet because he would not willingly do it without the Governor's approbation, offered him many beavers' skins for his consent thereto, saying that, according to their manner, their sachim had sent his own knife, and them therewith, to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him. To which the Governor answered, It was not the manner of the English to sell men's lives at a price, but when they had deserved justly to die, to give them their reward; and therefore refused their beavers as a gift; but sent for Tisquantum, who, though he knew their intent, yet offered not to fly, but came and accused Hobbamock as the author and worker of his overthrow, yielding himself to the Governor to be sent or not according as he thought meet. But at the instant when our Governor was ready to deliver him into the hands of his executioners, a boat was seen at sea to cross before our town, and fall behind a headland [2] not far off. Whereupon, having heard many rumours of the French, and not knowing whether there were any combination between the savages and them, the Governor told the Indians he would first know what boat that was ere he would deliver them into their custody. But being mad with rage, and impatient at delay, they departed in great heat.

Here let me not omit one notable, though wicked practice of this Tisquantum; who, to the end he might

1 On the part of.

2 This headland is Hither Manomet Point, forming the southern boundary of Plymouth bay. Manomet is the most prominent landmark in Barnstable bay, being visible from all points of its circling shore, from Sandwich to Province-town.

possess his countrymen with the greater fear of us, and so consequently of himself, told them we had the plague buried in our store-house; which, at our pleasure, we could send forth to what place or people we would, and destroy them therewith, though we stirred not from home. Being, upon the forenamed brabbles,[1] sent for by the Governor to this place, where Hobbamock was and some other of us, the ground being broke in the midst of the house, whereunder certain barrels of powder were buried, though unknown to him, Hobbamock asked him what it meant. To whom he readily answered, That was the place wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this Hobbamock asked one of our people, whether such a thing were, and whether we had such command of it; who answered, No; but the God of the English had it in store, and could send it at his pleasure to the destruction of his and our enemies.

This was, as I take it, about the end of May, 1622; at which time our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance. The reason was, that supply of men, before mentioned,[2] which came so unprovided, not landing so much as a barrel of bread or meal for their whole company, but contrariwise received from us for their ship's store homeward. Neither were the setters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein, but rather certain amongst ourselves, who were too prodigal in their writing and reporting of that plenty we enjoyed.[3] But that I may return.

This boat proved to be a shallop, that belonged to a fishing ship, called the *Sparrow*, set forth by Master Thomas Weston, late merchant and citizen of London, which brought six or seven passengers at his charge, that should before have been landed at our Plantation;[4]

[1] Brabbles, clamours.

[2] The passengers in the *Fortune*.

[3] Winslow himself had sent home too flattering an account of their condition.

[4] "She brings a letter to Mr. Carver from Mr. Weston, of Jan

who also brought no more provision for the present than served the boat's gang for their return to the ship; which made her voyage at a place called Damarin's Cove,[1] near Munhiggen, some forty leagues from us northeastward; about which place there fished about thirty sail of ships, and whither myself was employed by our Governor, with orders to take up such victuals as the ships could spare; where I found kind entertainment and good respect, with a willingness to supply our wants. But being not able to spare that quantity I required, by reason of the necessity of some amongst themselves, whom they supplied before my coming, would not take any bills for the same, but did what they could freely, wishing their store had been such as they might in greater measure have expressed their own love, and supplied our necessities, for which they sorrowed, provoking one another to the utmost of their abilities; which, although it were not much amongst so many people as were at the Plantation, yet through the provident and discreet care of the governors, recovered and preserved strength till our own crop on the ground was ready.

Having dispatched there, I returned home with all speed convenient, where I found the state of the Colony much weaker than when I left it; for till now we were

17. By his letter we find he has quite deserted us, and is going to settle a plantation of his own. The boat brings us a kind letter from Mr. John Huddleston, a captain of a ship fishing at the eastward, whose name we never heard before, to inform us of a massacre of 400 English by the Indians in Virginia, whence he came. By this boat the Governor returns a grateful answer, and with them sends Mr. Winslow in a boat of ours to get provisions of the fishing ships; whom Captain Huddleston receives kindly, and not only spares what he can, but writes to others to do the like; by which means he gets as much bread as amounts to a quarter of a pound a person per day till harvest; the Governor causing their portion to be daily given them, or some had starved. And by this voyage we not only got a present supply, but also learn the way to those parts for our future benefit."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 202. Huddleston's letter (or Hudson's, as Morton calls him) may be found in *New England's Memorial*, p. 80. See note 3 on page 274.

[1] See note 2 on p. 274

never without some bread, the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others. But here it may be said, if the country abound with fish and fowl in such measure as is reported, how could men undergo such measure of hardness, except through their own negligence? I answer, everything must be expected in its proper season. No man, as one saith, will go into an orchard in the winter to gather cherries; so he that looks for fowl there in the summer, will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us, is from the beginning of October to the end of March; but these extremities befell us in May and June. I confess, that as the fowl decrease, so fish increase. And indeed their exceeding abundance was a great cause of increasing our wants. For though our bay and creeks were full of bass and other fish, yet for want of fit and strong seines and other netting, they for the most part brake through, and carried all away before them. And though the sea were full of cod, yet we had neither tackling nor hawsers for our shallops. And indeed had we not been in a place, where divers sort of shell-fish are, that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished, unless God had raised some unknown or extraordinary means for our preservation.

In the time of these straits, indeed before my going to Munhiggen, the Indians began again to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weakness, and giving out how easy it would be ere long to cut us off. Now also Massassowat seemed to frown on us, and neither came or sent to us as formerly. These things occasioned further thoughts of fortification. And whereas we have a hill called the Mount,[1] enclosed

1 The burying-hill. The intelligence of the massacre in Virginia reached Plymouth in May, and was the immediate incitement to the erection of this fort. See page 274.

"Some traces of the fort are still visible on the eminence called the burying-hill, directly above the meeting-house of the first church in Plymouth. After the fort was used as a place of wor-

within our pale, under which our town is seated, we resolved to erect a fort thereon; from whence a few might easily secure the town from any assault the Indians can make, whilst the rest might be employed as occasion served. This work was begun with great eagerness, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finished, and a continual guard there kept, it would utterly discourage the savages from having any hopes or thoughts of rising against us. And though it took the greatest part of our strength from dressing our corn, yet, life being continued, we hoped God would raise some means in stead thereof for our further preservation.

OF THE PLANTING OF MASTER WESTON'S COLONY AT WESSAGUSSET, AND OF SUNDRY EXCURSIONS AFTER CORN.

In the end of June, or beginning of July, came into our harbour two ships of Master Weston's aforesaid; the one called the *Charity*,[1] the other the *Swan;* having in them some fifty or sixty men, sent over at his own charge to plant for him.[2] These we received into our

ship, it is probable they began to bury their dead around it. Before that time the burial-place was on the bank, above the rock on which the landing was made."—Judge Davis's note in Morton's *Memorial*, p. 82.

1 "By Mr. Weston's ship comes a letter from Mr. John Pierce, in whose name the Plymouth patent is taken, signifying that whom the governor admits into the association, he will approve."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 204.

2 They came upon no religious design, as did the planters of Plymouth; so they were far from being Puritans. Mr. Weston in a letter owns that many of them are rude and profane fellows. Mr. Cushman in another writes, "They are no men for us, and I fear they will hardly deal so well with the savages as they should. I pray you therefore signify to Squanto that they are a

town, affording them whatsoever courtesy our mean condition could afford. There the *Charity*, being the bigger ship, left them, having many passengers which she was to land at Virginia. In the mean time the body of them refreshed themselves at Plymouth, whilst some most fit sought out a place for them. That little store of corn we had was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers; who, though they would sometimes seem to help us in our labour about our corn, yet spared not day and night to steal the same, it being then eatable and pleasant to taste, though green and unprofitable; and though they received much kindness, set light both by it and us, not sparing to requite the love we showed them, with secret backbitings, revilings, etc., the chief of them being forestalled and made against us before they came, as after appeared. Nevertheless, for their master's sake, who formerly had deserved well from us, we continued to do them whatsoever good or furtherance we could, attributing these things to the want of conscience and discretion, expecting each day when God in his providence would disburden us of them, sorrowing that their overseers were not of more ability and fitness for their places, and much fearing what would be the issue of such raw and unconscionable beginnings.

At length their coasters returned, having found in their judgment a place fit for plantation, within the bay of the Massachusets [1] at a place called by the Indians Wichaguscusset.[2] To which place the body of them went with all convenient speed, leaving still with us such as were sick and lame, by the Governor's permission, though on their parts undeserved; whom our

distinct body from us, and we have nothing to do with them, nor must be blamed for their faults, much less can warrant their fidelity." And Mr. John Pierce in another writes, "As for Mr. Weston's company they are so base in condition for the most part, as in all appearance not fit for an honest man's company. I wish they prove otherwise."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 203.

1 Boston harbour.

2 Or Wessagusset, now called Weymouth.

surgeon,[1] by the help of God, recovered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occasion served.

They had not been long from us, ere the Indians filled our ears with clamours against them, for stealing their corn, and other abuses conceived by them. At which we grieved the more, because the same men,[2] in mine own hearing, had been earnest in persuading Captain Standish, before their coming, to solicit our Governor to send some of his men to plant by them, alleging many reasons how it might be commodious for us. But we knew no means to redress those abuses, save reproof, and advising them to better walking, as occasion served.

In the end of August, came other two ships into our harbour. The one, as I take it, was called the *Discovery*, Captain Jones[3] having the command thereof; the other was that ship of Mr. Weston's, called the *Sparrow*, which had now made her voyage of fish, and was consorted with the other, being both bound for Virginia.[4] Of Captain Jones we furnished ourselves of such provisions as we most needed, and he could best spare; who, as he used us kindly, so made us pay largely for the things we had. And had not the Almighty, in his all-ordering providence, directed him to us, it would have gone worse with us than ever it had been, or after was; for as we had now but small store of corn for the year following, so, for want of supply, we were worn out of all manner of trucking-stuff, not having any means left to help ourselves by trade; but, through God's good mercy towards us, he had wherewith, and did supply our wants on that kind competently.[5]

1 Dr. Fuller. 2 That is, the same Indians.

3 This is supposed to be the same Jones who was captain of the *Mayflower*.

4 Prince says, p. 205, that "Mr. Winslow seems to mistake in thinking Captain Jones was now bound for Virginia;" and Bradford states that "She was on her way from Virginia homeward, being sent out by some merchants to discover the shoals about Cape Cod, and harbours between this and Virginia."

5 "Of her we buy knives and beads, which is now good trade,

In the end of September, or beginning of October, Mr. Weston's biggest ship, called the *Charity*, returned for England, and left their colony sufficiently victualled, as some of most credit amongst them reported. The lesser, called the *Swan*, remained with his colony, for their further help. At which time they desired to join in partnership with us, to trade for corn; to which our Governor and his Assistant [1] agreed, upon such equal conditions, as were drawn and confirmed between them and us. The chief places aimed at were to the southward of Cape Cod; and the more, because Tisquantum, whose peace before this time was wrought with Massassowat, undertook to discover unto us that supposed, and still hoped, passage within the shoals.

Both colonies being thus agreed, and their companies fitted and joined together, we resolved to set forward, but were oft crossed in our purposes. As first Master Richard Greene, brother-in-law to Master Weston, who from him had a charge in the oversight and government of his colony, died suddenly at our Plantation, to whom we gave burial befitting his place, in the best manner we could. Afterward, having further order to proceed by letter from their other Governor at the Massachusets, twice Captain Standish set forth with them, but were driven in again by cross and violent winds; himself the second time being sick of a violent fever. By reason whereof (our own wants being like to be now greater than formerly, partly because we were enforced to neglect our corn and spend much time in fortification, but especially because such havock was made of that little we had, through the unjust and dishonest carriage of those people, before mentioned, at our first entertainment of them) our Governor in his own person supplied the Captain's place; and, in the month of November, again set forth, having Tisquantum for his interpreter

though at cent. per cent. or more, and yet pay away coat beaver at 3*s.* a pound (which a few years after yields 20*s.*); by which means we are fitted to trade both for corn and beaver."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 205, and in Morton's *Memorial*, p. 83.

[1] Isaac Allerton.

and pilot; who affirmed he had twice passed within the shoals of Cape Cod, both with English and French. Nevertheless they went so far with him, as the master of the ship saw no hope of passage; but being, as he thought, in danger, bare up, and according to Tisquantum's directions, made for a harbour not far from them, at a place called Manamoycke;[1] which they found, and sounding it with their shallop, found the channel, though but narrow and crooked; where at length they harboured the ship. Here they perceived that the tide set in and out with more violence at some other place more southerly, which they had not seen nor could discover, by reason of the violence of the season all the time of their abode there. Some judged the entrance thereof might be beyond the shoals; but there is no certainty thereof as yet known.

That night the Governor, accompanied with others, having Tisquantum for his interpreter, went ashore. At first, the inhabitants played least in sight, because none of our people had ever been there before; but understanding the ends of their coming, at length came to them, welcoming our Governor according to their savage manner; refreshing them very well with store of venison and other victuals, which they brought them in great abundance; promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladness of the occasion. Yet their joy was mixed with much jealousy, as appeared by their after practices; for at first they were loth their dwellings should be known; but when they saw our Governor's resolution to stay on the shore all night, they brought him to their houses, having first conveyed all their stuff to a remote place, not far from the same; which one of our men, walking forth occasionally, espied. Whereupon, on the sudden, neither it nor they could be found; and so many times after, upon conceived occasions, they would be all gone, bag and baggage. But being afterwards, by Tisquantum's means better persuaded, they left their jealousy, and traded with them; where

[1] Chatham.

they got eight hogsheads of corn and beans, though the people were but few. This gave our Governor and the company good encouragement; Tisquantum being still confident in the passage, and the inhabitants affirming they had seen ships of good burthen pass within the shoals aforesaid.

But here, though they had determined to make a second essay, yet God had otherways disposed; who struck Tisquantum with sickness, insomuch as he there died;[1] which crossed their southward trading, and the more, because the master's sufficiency was much doubted, and the season very tempestuous, and not fit to go upon discovery, having no guide to direct them.

From thence they departed; and the wind being fair for the Massachusets, went thither, and the rather, because the savages, upon our motion, had planted much corn for us, which they promised not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great sickness to be amongst the Indians, not unlike the plague, if not the same. They renewed their complaints to our Governor, against that other plantation seated by them, for their injurious walking. But indeed the trade both for furs and corn was overthrown in that place, they giving as much for a quart of corn as we used to do for a beaver's skin; so that little good could be there done.

From thence they returned into the bottom of the bay of Cape Cod, to a place called Nauset; where the sachim[2] used the Governor very kindly, and where they

[1] His disorder was a fever, accompanied with "a bleeding at the nose, which the Indians reckon a fatal symptom." Before his death "he desired the Governor (Bradford) to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven, bequeathing divers of his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom we had great loss."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 206, and in Morton, p. 85. Judge Davis adds in his note, that "Governor Bradford's pen was worthily employed in the tender notice taken of the death of this child of nature. With some aberrations, his conduct was generally irreproachable, and his useful services to the infant settlement entitle him to grateful remembrance."

[2] Aspinet.

bought eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans; also at a place called Mattachiest,[1] where they had like kind entertainment and corn also. During the time of their trade in these places, there were so great and violent storms, as the ship was much endangered, and our shallop cast away; so that they had now no means to carry the corn aboard that they had bought, the ship riding by their report well near two leagues from the same, her own boat being small, and so leaky (having no carpenter with them), as they durst scarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the Governor caused the corn to be made in a round stack, and bought mats, and cut sedge, to cover it; and gave charge to the Indians not to meddle with it, promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keep vermin also from it; which he undertook, and the sachim promised to make good. In the mean time, according to the Governor's request, the sachim sent men to seek the shallop; which they found buried almost in sand at a high water mark, having many things remaining in her, but unserviceable for the present; whereof the Governor gave the sachim special charge, that it should not be further broken, promising ere long to fetch both it and the corn; assuring them, if neither were diminished, he would take it as a sign of their honest and true friendship, which they so much made show of; but if they were, they should certainly smart for their unjust and dishonest dealing, and further make good whatsoever they had so taken. So he did likewise at Mattachiest, and took leave of them, being resolved to leave the ship and take his journey home by land with our own company, sending word to the ship that they should take their first opportunity to go for Plymouth, where he determined, by the permission of God, to meet them. And having procured a guide, it being no less than fifty miles to our Plantation,[2] set forward, receiving all respect that could be from the Indians in his journey;

1 The country between Barnstable and Yarmouth harbours.

2 The distance from Eastham to Plymouth by land is about fifty miles.

and came safely home, though weary and surbated;[1] whither some three days after the ship[2] also came.

The corn being divided, which they had got, Master Weston's company went to their own plantation; it being further agreed, that they should return with all convenient speed, and bring their carpenter, that they might fetch the rest of the corn, and save the shallop.

At their return, Captain Standish, being recovered and in health, took another shallop, and went with them to the corn, which they found in safety as they left it. Also they mended the other shallop, and got all their corn aboard the ship. This was in January, as I take it, it being very cold and stormy; insomuch as (the harbour being none of the best) they were constrained to cut both the shallops from the ship's stern; and so lost them both a second time. But the storm being over, and seeking out, they found them both, not having received any great hurt.

Whilst they were at Nauset, having occasion to lie on the shore, laying their shallop in a creek[3] not far from them, an Indian came into the same, and stole certain beads, scissors, and other trifles, out of the same; which, when the Captain missed, he took certain of his company with him, and went to the sachim, telling him what had happened, and requiring the same again, or the party that stole them (who was known to certain of the Indians), or else he would revenge it on them before his departure; and so took leave for that night, being late, refusing whatsoever kindness they offered. On the morrow the sachim came to their rendezvous, accompanied with many men, in a stately manner, who saluted[4] the Captain in this wise. He thrust out his tongue, that one might see the root thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wrist to the finger's end, withal bowing the knee, striving to imitate

1 With galled feet.

2 The *Swan*. See page 292.

3 Nauset, or Eastham, abounds with creeks. See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 155, 188.

4 In the original *saluting;* probably a typographical error.

the English gesture, being instructed therein formerly by Tisquantum. His men did the like, but in so rude and savage a manner, as our men could scarce forbear to break out in open laughter. After salutation, he delivered the beads and other things to the Captain, saying he had much beaten the party for doing it; causing the women to make bread, and bring them, according to their desire; seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed and came home in safety; where the corn was equally divided, as before.

After this the Governor went to two other island towns, with another company, and bought corn likewise of them. The one is called Namasket, the other Manomet.[1] That from Namasket was brought home partly by Indian women; [2] but a great sickness arising amongst them, our own men were enforced to fetch home the rest. That at Manomet the Governor left in the sachim's custody.

This town lieth from us south, well near twenty miles, and stands upon a fresh river, which runneth into the bay of Nanohigganset,[3] and cannot be less than sixty miles from thence. It will bear a boat of eight or ten tons to this place. Hither the Dutch or French, or both, use to come. It is from hence to the bay of Cape Cod, about eight miles; [4] out of which bay it floweth

[1] The part of Sandwich, which lies on Mahomet river.—F.

[2] "It is almost incredible," says Roger Williams, "what burthens the poor women carry of corn, of fish, of beans, of mats, and a child besides." Gookin says, "In their removals from place to place, for their fishing and hunting, the women carry the greatest burthen." And Wood says, "In the summer they trudge home two or three miles with a hundred weight of lobsters at their backs; in winter they are their husbands' porters to lug home their venison." See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 149, iii. 212, and Wood's *New England's Prospect*, part i., ch. 20.

[3] This is called Manomet or Buzzard's bay, though Winslow seems to mistake it for Narragansett bay, which is near twenty leagues to the westward.—Prince, p. 208.

[4] "This creek runs out easterly into Cape Cod bay at Scussett harbour; and this river runs out westerly into Manomet bay. The distance overland from bay to bay is but six miles. The

into a creek some six miles, almost direct towards the town. The heads of the river and this creek are not far distant. This river yieldeth, thus high, oysters,[1] muscles, clams,[2] and other shell-fish; one in shape like a bean,[3] another like a clam; both good meat, and great abundance at all times; besides it aboundeth with divers sorts of fresh fish in their seasons.[4]

The governor, or sachim, of this place was called Canacum;[5] who had formerly, as well as many others,

creek and river nearly meet in a low ground; and this is the place, through which there has been a talk of making a canal, this forty years; which would be a vast advantage to all these countries, by saving the long and dangerous navigation round the Cape, and through the shoals adjoining."—Prince, p. 208 (A.D. 1736). *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 122.

[1] Oysters are still found in great excellence and plenty in Sandwich, on the shores of Buzzard's bay. See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 122.

[2] The common clam (*mya arenaria*), or perhaps the quahaug (*venus mercenaria*). The English call the former the sand-gaper, the word *clam* not being in use among them, and not to be found in their dictionaries. And yet it is mentioned by Captain Smith, in his *Description of New England*, printed in 1616. Johnson, whose *Wonderworking Providence* was published in 1654, speaks of "*clam-banks*, a fish as big as horse-muscles." Morton too, in his *New English Canaan* (1637) mentions them, and Josselyn (1672), in his *Rarities*, p. 96, speaks of "clam, or clamp, a kind of shell-fish, a white muscle." Wood says, ch. ix., "clams or clamps is a shell-fish not much unlike a cockle; it lieth under the sand. These fishes be in great plenty. In some places of the country there be clams as big as a penny white-loaf." See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 224, viii. 193, xiii. 125, xxvi. 121, and Dr. Gould's *Report on the Mollusca of Mass.*, pp. 40–42, and 85, 86.

[3] The razor-shell (*solen*), which very much resembles a bean pod, or the haft of a razor, both in size and shape. See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 192. Josselyn calls them "*sheath fish*, which are very plentiful, a delicate fish, as good as a prawn, covered with a thin shell like the sheath of a knife, and of the colour of a muscle." And Morton says, "*razor fishes* there are."

"The animal is cylindrical, and is often used as an article of food under the name of long-clam, razor-fish, knife-handle, etc." See Dr. Gould's *Report on the Mollusca of Massachusetts*, p. 29.

[4] In Manomet river, as well as in Buzzard's and Buttermilk bays, are found fish of various kinds, such as bass, sheep's head, tautaug, scuppaug, etc. See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 122.

[5] He was the same as Cawnacome.

yea all with whom as yet we had to do, acknowledged themselves the subjects of our sovereign lord, the King. This sachim used the Governor very kindly; and it seemed was of good respect and authority amongst the Indians. For whilst the Governor was there, within night, in bitter weather, came two men from Manamoick, before spoken of; and having set aside their bows and quivers, according to their manner, sat down by the fire, and took a pipe of tobacco, not using any words in that time, nor any other to them, but all remained silent, expecting when they would speak. At length they looked toward Canacum; and one of them made a short speech, and delivered a present to him from his sachim, which was a basket of tobacco and many beads, which the other received thankfully. After which he made a long speech to him; the contents hereof was related to us by Hobbamock (who then accompanied the Governor for his guide) to be as followeth. It happened that two of their men fell out, as they were in game (for they use gaming as much as any where, and will play away all, even their skin from their backs,[1] yea their wives' skins also, though it may be they are many miles distant from them, as myself have seen), and growing to great heat, the one killed the other. The actor of this fact was a *powah*,[2] one of special note amongst them, and such an one as they could not well miss; yet another people greater than themselves threatened them with war, if they would not put him to death. The party offending was in hold; neither would their sachim do one way or other till their return, resting upon him for advice and further-

1 "In their gamings," says Roger Williams, "they will sometimes stake and lose their money, clothes, house, corn, and themselves, if single persons." Gookin says, "They are addicted to gaming, and will, in that vein, play away all they have." And Wood adds, "They are so bewitched with these two games, that they will lose sometimes all they have, beaver, moose skins, kettles, wampompeage, mowhackies, hatchets, knives, all is confiscate by these two games." See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 153, iii. 234, and Wood's *New England's Prospect*, part ii., ch. 14.

2 *Powow*, a priest and medicine man.

ance in so weighty a matter. After this there was silence a short time. At length, men gave their judgment what they thought best. Amongst others, he asked Hobbamock what he thought; who answered, He was but a stranger to them; but thought it was better that one should die than many, since he had deserved it, and the rest were innocent. Whereupon he passed the sentence of death upon him.

Not long after, having no great quantity of corn left, Captain Standish went again with a shallop to Mattachiest, meeting also with the like extremity of weather, both of wind, snow, and frost; insomuch as they were frozen in the harbour, the first night they entered the same. Here they pretended their wonted love, and spared them a good quantity of corn to confirm the same. Strangers also came to this place, pretending only to see him and his company, whom they never saw before that time, but intending to join with the rest to kill them, as after appeared. But being forced through extremity to lodge in their houses, which they much pressed, God possessed the heart of the Captain with just jealousy, giving strait command, that as one part of his company slept, the rest should wake, declaring some things to them which he understood, whereof he could make no good construction.

Some of the Indians, spying a fit opportunity, stole some beads also from him; which he no sooner perceived, having not above six men with him, drew them all from the boat, and set them on their guard about the sachim's house, where the most of the people were; threatening to fall upon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith restore them; signifying to the sachim especially, and so to them all, that as he would not offer the least injury, so he would not receive any at their hands, which should escape without punishment or due satisfaction. Hereupon the sachim bestirred him to find out the party; which, when he had done, caused him to return them again to the shallop, and came to the Captain, desiring him to search whether they were not about the boat; who, suspect-

ing their knavery, sent one, who found them lying openly upon the boat's cuddy. Yet to appease his anger, they brought corn afresh to trade; insomuch as he laded his shallop, and so departed. This accident so daunted their courage, as they durst not attempt any thing against him. So that, through the good mercy and providence of God, they returned in safety. At this place the Indians get abundance of bass both summer and winter; for it being now February, they abounded with them.

In the beginning of March, having refreshed himself, he took a shallop, and went to Manomet, to fetch home that which the Governor had formerly bought,[1] hoping also to get more from them; but was deceived in his expectation, not finding that entertainment he found elsewhere, and the Governor had there received. The reason whereof, and of the treachery intended in the place before spoken of, was not then known unto us, but afterwards; wherein may be observed the abundant mercies of God, working with his providence for our good. Captain Standish being now far from the boat, and not above two or three of our men with him, and as many with the shallop, was not long at Canacum, the sachim's house, but in came two of the Massachuset men. The chief of them was called Wituwamat, a notable insulting villain, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood of English and French, and had oft boasted of his own valour, and derided their weakness, especially because, as he said, they died crying, making sour faces, more like children than men.

This villain took a dagger from about his neck, which he had gotten of Master Weston's people, and presented it to the sachim; and after made a long speech in an audacious manner, framing it in such sort, as the Captain, though he be the best linguist amongst us,[2] could not gather anything from it. The end of it was

1 It seems as if the Captain went into Scussett harbour, which goes up westward towards Manomet.—Prince, p. 210.

2 In the Indian dialects.

afterwards discovered to be as followeth. The Massacheuseuks had formerly concluded to ruinate Master Weston's colony; and thought themselves, being about thirty or forty men, strong enough to execute the same. Yet they durst not attempt it, till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselves, to make their party good against us at Plymouth; concluding, that if we remained, though they had no other arguments to use against us, yet we would never leave the death of our countrymen unrevenged; and therefore their safety could not be without the overthrow of both plantations. To this end they had formerly solicited this sachim, as also the other, called Ianough,[1] at Mattachiest, and many others, to assist them, and now again came to prosecute the same; and since there was so fair an opportunity offered by the Captain's presence, they thought best to make sure [of] him and his company.

After this his message was delivered, his entertainment much exceeded the Captain's; insomuch as he scorned at their behaviour, and told them of it. After which they would have persuaded him, because the weather was cold, to have sent to the boat for the rest of his company; but he would not, desiring according to promise, that the corn might be carried down, and he would content the women [2] for their labour; which they did. At the same time there was a lusty Indian of Paomet,[3] or Cape Cod, then present, who had ever demeaned himself well toward us, being in his general carriage very affable, courteous, and loving, especially towards the Captain. This savage was now entered into confederacy with the rest; yet, to avoid suspicion, made many signs of his continued affections, and would needs bestow a kettle of some six or seven gallons on him, and would not accept of any thing in lieu thereof, saying he was rich and could afford to bestow such

[1] Or Iyanough.
[2] See note on p. 297.
[3] Or Pamet, now called Truro.

favours on his friends whom he loved. Also he would freely help to carry some of the corn, affirming he had never done the like in his life before; and the wind being bad, would needs lodge with him at their rendezvous, having indeed undertaken to kill him before they parted; which done, they intended to fall upon the rest.

The night proved exceeding cold; insomuch as the Captain could not take any rest, but either walked, or turned himself to and fro at the fire. This the other observed, and asked wherefore he did not sleep as at other times; who answered, He knew not well, but had no desire at all to rest. So that he then missed his opportunity.

The wind serving on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other Indian; who used many arguments to persuade them to go to Paomet, where himself had much corn, and many other, the most whereof he would procure for us, seeming to sorrow for our wants. Once the Captain put forth with him, and was forced back by contrary wind; which wind serving for the Massachuset, was fitted to go thither. But on a sudden it altered again.

WINSLOW'S SECOND JOURNEY TO PACKANOKICK TO VISIT MASSASOIT IN HIS SICKNESS.

During the time that the Captain was at Manomet, news came to Plymouth that Massassowat was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore by stress of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to

them to visit them in their extremity,[1] either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them; therefore it was thought meet, being a good and warrantable action, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity. To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the Governor again laid this service upon myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Master John Hamden,[2] a gentleman

[1] "All their refreshing in their sickness is the visit of friends and neighbours, a poor empty visit and presence; and yet indeed this is very solemn, unless it be in infectious diseases, and then all forsake them and fly."—Roger Williams, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 236.

[2] It was conjectured by Belknap, *Am. Biog.*, ii. 229, and has since been repeatedly asserted as a fact by other writers, that this person was the celebrated English patriot of the same name. But this is highly improbable. Hampden, who was born in 1594, and married in 1619, was a member of the parliament which assembled in January, 1621, and was dissolved by James in 1622, under circumstances and in a juncture of affairs which rendered it certain that a new parliament must soon be called. It is not at all likely that a person in Hampden's circumstances, a man of family, wealth and consideration, would, merely for the sake of gratifying his curiosity, have left England at this critical period, on a long voyage to another hemisphere, and run the risk of not being at home at the issuing of the writs for a new parliament. For the passage to America was at that time precarious; the vessels were few, and the voyage a long one; so that a person who undertook it could not reasonably calculate upon getting back in much less than a year. Winslow's companion, whoever he was, must have come in the *Charity*, which brought Weston's colony, unless we adopt the improbable supposition that this "gentleman of London" embarked in one of the fishing vessels that visited the Grand Bank, and took his chance of getting to Plymouth as he could. Now the *Charity* left London the last of April, 1622, and arrived at Plymouth the last of June. The visit to Massasoit took place in March, 1623, and after this no vessel sailed for England till the *Anne*, September 10, in which Winslow went home. Of course this "gentleman of London" must have been absent at least eighteen months, which it is altogether improbable that Hampden would have done, running the risk of not being at home to stand

of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobbamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

The next day, about one of the clock, we came to

for the next parliament, to which he undoubtedly expected to be returned, as we know he actually was.

Besides, had this companion of Winslow been the great English patriot, the silence of the early Plymouth writers on the point is unaccountable. On publishing his *Good News from New England* immediately on his arrival in London, in 1624, one object of which was to recommend the new colony, how gladly would Winslow have appealed for the correctness of his statements to this member of parliament who had passed more than a year in their Plantation. How natural too would it have been for him to have mentioned the fact in his *Brief Narration,* published in 1646, only three years after the death of the illustrious patriot. Bradford, also, whose sympathies were all with the popular party in England, in writing an elaborate history of the Colony, would not have failed to record the long residence among them of one who, at the time he wrote, had become so distinguished as the leader of that party in the House of Commons. That his lost history contained no such passage we may be certain; for had it been there, it must have been quoted either by Prince or Morton, who make so free use of it, both of whom too mention this visit to Massasoit, and who would not have omitted a circumstance so honourable to the Colony.

Again. Winslow's companion was "a gentleman of *London.*" Now although John Hampden happened to be born in London, when his father was in parliament in 1594, he was properly of Buckinghamshire. Winslow, who was himself of Worcestershire, if he knew who Hampden was, would not have called him "a gentleman of *London*"; and we cannot suppose that this English gentleman would have spent so many months in the Colony without making himself known to its two leading men, Winslow and Bradford.

Equally unfounded is the statement that has gained so wide a currency and become incorporated with the history of those times, and is repeated in Lord Nugent's Life of Hampden, that John Hampden, in company with Cromwell, Pym, and Hazelrig, had actually embarked for America on board a fleet in the Thames, in 1638, but were detained by an order from the Privy Council. Miss Aikin, in her Memoirs of Charles I., ch. xiii., was the first to detect and expose this error of the historians.—For some of the views in this note I am indebted to the MS. suggestions of the learned editor of Governor Winthrop's *History of New England.*

a ferry [1] in Conbatant's country, where, upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us from a house not far off. There they told us that Massassowat was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank, but especially Hobbamock, who desired we might return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it. Considering now, that he being dead, Conbatant [2] was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst,[3] his dwelling-place, although he were but a hollow-hearted friend toward us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the sachims thereabout; hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means, in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobbamock had been employed upon a service against him, which he might now fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Master Hamden and Hobbamock durst attempt it with me; whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyst.

In the way, Hobbamock, manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches: *Neen womasu sagimus, neen womasu sagimus*, etc. "My loving sachim, my loving sachim! Many have I known, but never any like thee." And turning him to me, said, whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians; saying, he was no liar, he was not bloody

[1] Probably the same which is now called Slade's Ferry, in Swanzey.—Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii 292.

[2] Conbatant or Corbitant, was the sachem of Pocasset, and was subject to Massasoit. See Baylies' *Plymouth*, ii. 232.

[3] A neck of land in the township of Swanzey, commonly pronounced Mattapoiset, now Gardner's neck, situated between the Shawomet and Toweset necks. See Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 292, and Baylies' *Plymouth*, ii. 232, 234.

and cruel, like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; showing, how he ofttimes restrained their malice, etc., continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the *sachimo comaco*,[1] for so they call the sachim's place, though they call an ordinary house *witeo*;[2] but Conbatant, the sachim, was not at home, but at Puckanokick, which was some five or six miles off. The *squasachim*, for so they call the sachim's wife, gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massassowat; they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbatant with our there being. About half an hour before sunsetting the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock that afternoon, the Dutchmen departed, so that in that respect our journey was frustrate.

When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the midst of their charms for him, making such

1 "*Sachimmaacommock*, a prince's house, which, according to their condition, is far different from the other house, both in capacity or receipt, and also the fineness and quality of their mats."—Roger Williams's *Key*. ch. xxii.

2 *Wetu*, or *wigwam*. See Gallatin's Indian Vocabularies, in *Am. Antiq. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 322.

a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick.[1] About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs, to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the English, were come to see him. Having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone, he asked, Who was come? They told him Winsnow, for they cannot pronounce the letter *l*, but ordinarily *n* in the place thereof.[2] He desired to speak with me. When

1 "There are among them certain men and women, whom they call *powows*. These are partly wizards and witches, holding familiarity with Satan, that evil one; and partly are physicians, and make use, at least in show, of herbs and roots for curing the sick and diseased. These are sent for by the sick and wounded; and by their diabolical spells, mutterings, exorcisms, they seem to do wonders. They use extraordinary strange motions of their bodies, insomuch that they will sweat until they foam; and thus continue for some hours together, stroking and hovering over the sick."—Gookin, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i, 154.

"*Powaws*, priests. These do begin and order their service and invocation of their gods, and all the people follow, and join interchangeably in a laborious bodily service, unto sweating, especially of the priest, who spends himself in strange antic gestures and actions, even unto fainting. In sickness the priest comes close to the sick person, and performs many strange actions about him, and threatens and conjures out the sickness. The poor people commonly die under their hands; for, alas, they administer nothing, but howl and roar and hollow over them, and begin the song to the rest of the people, who all join like a choir in prayer to their gods for them."—Roger Williams, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 227, 237.

"The manner of their action in their conjuration is thus. The parties that are sick are brought before them; the powow sitting down, the rest of the Indians give attentive audience to his imprecations and invocations, and after the violent expression of many a hideous bellowing and groaning, he makes a stop, and then all the auditors with one voice utter a short canto. Which done, the powow still proceeds in his invocations, sometimes roaring like a bear, other times groaning like a dying horse, foaming at the mouth like a chafed boar, smiting on his naked breast and thighs with such violence as if he were mad. Thus will he continue sometimes half a day."—Wood's *New England's Prospect*, part ii., ch. 12. See also Hutchinson's *Mass.*, i. 474.

2 Wood says, ch. xviii., "They pronounce *l* and *r* in our English tongue, with much difficulty, calling a lobster a nobstan." Yet Roger Williams states, that "although some pronounce not *l* nor

I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he said twice, though very inwardly, *Keen Winsnow?* which is to say, "Art thou Winslow?" I answered, *Ahhe*, that is, Yes. Then he doubled these words; *Matta neen wonckanet nqmen, Winsnow!* that is to say, "O Winslow, I shall never see thee again."

Then I called Hobbamock, and desired him to tell Massassowat, that the Governor, hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not come himself; yet he sent me with such things for him as he thought most likely to do him good in this his extremity;[1] and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired; and having a confection of many comfortable conserves, etc., on the point of my knife I gave him some, which I could scarcely get through his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it; whereat those that were about him much rejoiced, saying he had not swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his

r, yet it is the most proper dialect of other places, contrary to many reports;" and Eliot, in his *Indian Grammar*, says, "These consonants, *l*, *n*, *r*, have such a natural coincidence, that it is an eminent variation of their dialects. We Massachusetts pronounce the *n*; the Nipmuk Indians pronounce *l*; and the Northern Indians pronounce *r*. As instance:—

We say, *Anum*
Nipmuck, *Alum*
Northern, *Arum*

} A Dog."

See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 223, xix. 248.

[1] "When they are sick, their misery appears, that they have not, but what sometimes they get from the English, a raisin or currant, or any physic, fruit, or spice, or any comfort more than their corn and water, etc. In which bleeding case, wanting all means of recovery or present refreshing, I have been constrained, to and beyond my power, to refresh them, and to save many of them from death, who I am confident perish many millions of them, in that mighty continent, for want of means."—Roger Williams, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 236.

passage being stopped up. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desiring to drink, I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after his sight began to come to him, which gave him and us good encouragement. In the mean time I inquired how he slept, and when he went to stool. They said he slept not in two days before, and had not had a stool in five. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink, which the Governor also sent him, saying if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things, which I knew were good for him; and would stay the return of his messenger, if he desired. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning; against which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good success, the state of his body, etc., desiring to send me such things as I sent for, and such physic as the surgeon durst administer to him.

He requested me, that the day following, I would take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth; which I promised. After, his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me, being unaccustomed and unacquainted in such businesses, especially having nothing to make it comfortable, my consort being as ignorant as myself; but being we must do somewhat, I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and take the flour from it, and set over the grit, or broken corn, in a pipkin, for they have earthen pots of all sizes. When the day broke, we went out, it being now March, to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful, and put into the

same; and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again, and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece thereof, and boiled it, till it had a good relish, and then took it out again. The broth being boiled, I strained it through my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint, which he drank, and liked it very well. After this his sight mended more and more; also he had three moderate stools, and took some rest; insomuch as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant means, making no doubt of his recovery, himself and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation.

That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another amongst those that were sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying they were good folk. This pains I took with willingness, though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed with such poisonous savours. After dinner he desired me to get him a goose or duck, and make him some pottage therewith, with as much speed as I could. So I took a man with me, and made a shot at a couple of ducks, some six score paces off, and killed one, at which he wondered. So we returned forthwith and dressed it, making more broth therewith, which he much desired. Never did I see a man so low brought, recover in that measure in so short a time. The fowl being extraordinary fat, I told Hobbamock I must take off the top thereof, saying it would make him very sick again if he did eat it. This he acquainted Massassowat therewith, who would not be persuaded to it, though I pressed it very much, showing the strength thereof, and the weakness of his stomach, which could not possibly bear it. Notwithstanding, he made a gross meal of it, and ate as much as would well have satisfied a man in health. About an hour after he began to be very sick, and straining very much, cast up the broth again; and in overstraining himself, began to bleed at the nose, and so continued the space of four hours. Then they all wished he had been ruled, concluding now he would

die, which we much feared also. They asked me what I thought of him. I answered, his case was desperate, yet it might be it would save his life; for if it ceased in time, he would forthwith sleep and take rest, which was the principal thing he wanted. Not long after his blood stayed, and he slept at least six or eight hours. When he awaked, I washed his face, and bathed and suppled his beard and nose with a linen cloth. But on a sudden he chopped his nose in the water, and drew up some therein, and sent it forth again with such violence, as he began to bleed afresh. Then they thought there was no hope; but we perceived it was but the tenderness of his nostril, and therefore told them I thought it would stay presently, as indeed it did.

The messengers were now returned; but finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physic, which was then sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions; neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were careful. Many, whilst we were there, came to see him; some, by their report, from a place not less than an hundred miles. To all that came one of his chief men related the manner of his sickness, how near he was spent, how amongst others his friends the English came to see him, and how suddenly they recovered him to this strength they saw, he being now able to sit upright of himself.

The day before our coming, another sachim being there, told him that now he might see how hollow-hearted the English were, saying if we had been such friends in deed, as we were in show, we would have visited him in this his sickness, using many arguments to withdraw his affections, and to persuade him to give way to some things against us, which were motioned to him not long before. But upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches: Now I see the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me. Whilst we were there, our entertainment exceeded all

other strangers'. Divers other things were worthy the noting; but I fear I have been too tedious.

At our coming away, he called Hobbamock to him, and privately (none hearing, save two or three other of his pnieses,[1] who are of his council) revealed the plot of the Massacheuseucks, before spoken of, against Master Weston's colony, and so against us; saying that the people of Nauset, Paomet, Succonet,[2] Mattachiest, Manomet, Agowaywam,[3] and the isle of Capawack,[4] were joined with them; himself also in his sickness was earnestly solicited, but he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. Therefore, as we respected the lives of our countrymen, and our own after safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachuset, who were the authors of this intended mischief. And whereas we were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first began; if, said he, upon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their countrymen at Wichaguscusset are killed, they being not able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recover their lives; nay, through the multitude of adversaries, they shall with great difficulty preserve their own; and therefore he counselled without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would cease. With this he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way, that I might inform the Governor thereof, at my first coming home. Being fitted for our return, we took our leave of him; who returned many thanks to our Governor, and also to ourselves for our labour and love; the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

That night, through the earnest request of Conbatant, who till now remained at Sawaams, or Puckanokick, we lodged with him at Mattapuyst. By the way I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry

[1] The same as *pinse*. See page 283.
[2] Sokones, or Succonusset, now called Falmouth.
[3] Or Agawam, part of Wareham.
[4] Martha's Vineyard.

jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him. Amongst other things he asked me, if in case he were thus dangerously sick, as Massassowat had been, and should send word thereof to Patuxet for *maskiet*,[1] that is, physic, whether then Mr. Governor would send it; and if he would, whether I would come therewith to him. To both which I answered, Yea; whereat he gave me many joyful thanks. After that, being at his house, he demanded further, how we durst, being but two, come so far into the country. I answered, where was true love, there was no fear; and my heart was so upright towards them, that for mine own part I was fearless to come amongst them. But, said he, if your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how cometh it to pass, that when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouths of your pieces presented towards us? Whereupon I answered, it was the most honourable and respective entertainment we could give them; it being an order amongst us so to receive our best respected friends; and as it was used on the land, so the ships observed it also at sea, which Hobbamock knew and had seen observed. But shaking the head, he answered, that he liked not such salutations.

Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meat before we did eat, and after to give thanks for the same, he asked us, what was the meaning of that ordinary custom. Hereupon I took occasion to tell them of God's works of creation and preservation, of his laws and ordinances, especially of the ten commandments; all which they hearkened unto with great attention, and liked well of; only the seventh commandment they excepted against, thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman; about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them, that whatsoever good things we had, we received from God, as the author and giver thereof; and therefore craved his blessing upon that we had,

1 "*Maskit*, give me some physic."—Roger Williams's *Key*, in *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 159.

and were about to eat, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies; and having eaten sufficient, being satisfied therewith, we again returned thanks to the same our God, for that our refreshing, etc. This all of them concluded to be very well; and said, they believed almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God, they called *Kiehtan*.[1] Much profitable conference was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no less delightful to them, than comfortable to us. Here we remained only that night, but never had better entertainment amongst any of them.

The day following, in our journey, Hobbamock told me of the private conference he had with Massassowat, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith, as I showed before; which having done, he used many arguments himself to move us thereunto. That night we lodged at Namasket; and the day following, about the mid-way between it and home, we met two Indians, who told us, that Captain Standish was that day gone to the Massachusets. But contrary winds again drove him back; so that we found him at home; where the Indian of Paomet still was, being very importunate that the Captain should take the first opportunity of a fair wind to go with him. But their secret and villanous purposes being, through God's mercy, now made known, the Governor caused Captain Standish to send him away, without any distaste or manifestation of anger, that we might the better effect and bring to pass that which should be thought most necessary.

[1] "*Ketan* is their good God, to whom they sacrifice after their garners be full with a good crop. Upon this God likewise they invocate for fair weather, for rain in time of drought, and for the recovery of their sick."—Wood's *New England's Prospect*, part ii., ch. 12.

OF STANDISH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS OF WESSAGUSSET, AND THE BREAKING UP OF WESTON'S COLONY AT THAT PLACE.

BEFORE this journey we heard many complaints, both by the Indians, and some others of best desert amongst Master Weston's colony, how exceedingly their company abased themselves by undirect means, to get victuals from the Indians, who dwelt not far from them, fetching them wood and water, etc., and all for a meal's meat; whereas, in the mean time, they might with diligence have gotten enough to have served them three or four times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the Indians' store; for which they had been publicly stocked and whipped, and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February; at which time they had spent all their bread and corn, not leaving any for seed, neither would the Indians lend or sell them any more upon any terms. Hereupon they had thoughts to take it by violence; and to that spiked up every entrance into their town, being well impaled, save one, with a full resolution to proceed. But some more honestly minded advised John Sanders, their overseer, first to write to Plymouth; and if the Governor advised him thereunto, he might the better do it. This course was well liked, and an Indian was sent with all speed with a letter to our Governor, the contents whereof were to this effect; that being in great want, and their people daily falling down, he intended to go to Munhiggen, where was a plantation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to buy bread from the ships that came thither a fishing, with the first opportunity of wind; but knew not how the colony would be preserved till his return. He had used all means both to buy and borrow of Indians, whom he knew to be stored, and he thought maliciously withheld it, and therefore was resolved to

take it by violence, and only waited the return of the messenger, which he desired should be hastened, craving his advice therein, promising also to make restitution afterward. The Governor, upon the receipt hereof, asked the messenger what store of corn they had, as if he had intended to buy of them; who answered, very little more than that they reserved for seed, having already spared all they could.

Forthwith the Governor and his Assistant sent for many of us to advise with them herein; who, after serious consideration, no way approving of this intended course, the Governor answered his letter, and caused many of us to set our hands thereto; the contents whereof were to this purpose. We altogether disliked their intendment, as being against the law of God and nature, showing how it would cross the worthy ends and proceedings of the King's Majesty, and his honourable Council for this place, both in respect of the peaceable enlarging of his Majesty's dominions, and also of the propagation of the knowledge and law of God, and the glad tidings of salvation, which we and they were bound to seek, and were not to use such means as would breed a distaste in the salvages against our persons and professions, assuring them their master would incur much blame hereby, neither could they answer the same. For our own parts, our case was almost the same with theirs, having but a small quantity of corn left, and were enforced to live on ground-nuts, clams, muscles, and such other things as naturally the country afforded, and which did and would maintain strength, and were easy to be gotten; all which things they had in great abundance, yea, oysters [1] also, which we wanted; and therefore necessity could not be said to

[1] Morton says, in his *New English Canaan*, ch. vii., "There are great store of oysters in the entrance of all rivers. They are not round, as those of England, but excellent fat and all good. I have seen an oyster bank a mile in length. Muscles there are infinite store. I have often gone to Wessaguscus, where were excellent muscles to eat (for variety), the fish is so fat and large."

constrain them thereunto. Moreover, that they should consider, if they proceeded therein, all they could so get would maintain them but a small time, and then they must perforce seek their foot abroad; which, having made the Indians their enemies, would be very difficult for them, and therefore much better to begin a little the sooner, and so continue their peace, upon which course they might with good conscience desire and expect the blessing of God; whereas on the contrary they could not.

Also that they should consider their own weakness, being most swelled, and diseased in their bodies, and therefore the more unlikely to make their party good against them, and that they should not expect help from us in that or any the like unlawful actions. Lastly, that howsoever some of them might escape, yet the principal agents should expect no better than the gallows, whensoever any special officer should be sent over by his Majesty, or his Council for New England, which we expected, and who would undoubtedly call them to account for the same. These were the contents of our answer, which was directed to their whole colony. Another particular letter our Governor sent to John Sanders, showing how dangerous it would be for him above all others, being he was their leader and commander; and therefore in friendly manner advised him to desist.

With these letters we dispatched the messenger; upon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, resolving to shift as they could, till the return of John Sanders from Munhiggen; who first coming to Plymouth, notwithstanding our own necessities, the Governor spared him some corn, to carry them to Munhiggen. But not having sufficient for the ship's store, he took a shallop, and leaving others with instructions to oversee things till his return, set forward about the end of February; so that he knew not of this conspiracy of the Indians before his going. Neither was it known to any of us till our return from Sawaams, or Puckanokick; at which time also another sachim, called

Wassapinewat, brother to Obtakiest, the sachim of the Massachusets, who had formerly smarted for partaking with Conbatant, and fearing the like again, to purge himself, revealed the same thing.

The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearly court day, the Governor, having a double testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being[1] to undertake war without the consent of the body of the company, made known the same in public court, offering it to the consideration of the company, it being high time to come to resolution, how sudden soever it seemed to them, fearing it would be put in execution before we could give any intelligence thereof. This business was no less troublesome than grievous, and the more, because it is so ordinary in these times for men to measure things by the events thereof; but especially for that we knew no means to deliver our countrymen and preserve ourselves, than by returning their malicious and cruel purposes upon their own heads, and causing them to fall into the same pit they had digged for others; though it much grieved us to shed the blood of those whose good we ever intended and aimed at, as a principal in all our proceedings. But in the end we came to this public conclusion, that because it was a matter of such weight as every man was not of sufficiency to judge, nor fitness to know, because of many other Indians, which daily, as occasion serveth, converse with us; therefore the Governor, his Assistant, and the Captain, should take such to themselves as they thought most meet, and conclude thereof. Which done, we came to this conclusion, that Captain Standish should take so many men, as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachuset bay; and because (as all men know that have to do with them in that kind), it is impossible to deal with them upon open defiance, but to take them in such

[1] The word *inclined* or *disposed* seems to have been accidentally omitted.

traps as they lay for others, therefore he should pretend trade, as at other times; but first go to the English, and acquaint them with the plot, and the end of his own coming; that comparing it with their carriages towards them, he might the better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same; but should forbear, if it were possible, till such time as he could make sure [of] Wituwamat, that bloody and bold villain before spoken of; whose head he had order to bring with him, that he might be a warning and terror to all of that disposition.

Upon this Captain Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more, because he would prevent jealousy, knowing their guilty consciences would soon be provoked thereunto. But on the next day, before he could go, came one [1] of Mr. Weston's company by land unto us, with his pack at his back, who made a pitiful narration of their lamentable and weak estate, and of the Indians' carriages, whose boldness increased abundantly; insomuch as the victuals they got, they would take it out of their pots, and eat before their faces; yea, if in any thing they gainsaid them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts; that

1 Morton says, "This man's name was Phinehas Prat, who has penned the particulars of his perilous journey, and some other things relating to this tragedy." Hubbard states that he was living in 1677, at the time he was writing his *History of New England*. In 1662 the General Court of Massachusetts, in answer to a petition of Phinehas Prat, then of Charlestown, which was accompanied "with a narrative of the straits and hardships that the first planters of this Colony underwent in their endeavours to plant themselves at Plymouth, and since, whereof he was one, the Court judgeth it meet to grant him 300 acres of land, where it is to be had, not hindering a plantation." At the Court held May 3, 1665, it was ordered that land be laid out for Prat, "in the wilderness on the east of the Merrimack river, near the upper end of Nacook [Pennacook?] brook, on the southeast of it." Prat married in 1630, at Plymouth, a daughter of Cuthbert Cuthbertson. His heirs had grants of land in Abington subsequent to 1672. Drake says that after long search he has not been able to discover Prat's narrative. It was probably never printed. See Morton's *Memorial*, p. 90; Drake's *Book of the Indians*, b. ii., 35; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xv. 78, xvii. 122.

to give them content, since John Sanders went to Munhiggen, they had hanged [1] one of them that stole their

[1] The notorious Thomas Morton, of Merry Mount, in his *New English Canaan*, b. iii., ch. 4, which was published in 1637, is the first writer who mentions a ludicrous fable connected with this execution, which has been made the occasion of some reproach on the first planters of New England. After relating the settlement of Weston's colony at Weymouth, he mentions that one of them stole the corn of an Indian, and upon his complaint was brought before "a parliament of all the people" to consult what punishment should be inflicted on him. It was decided that this offence, which might have been settled by the gift of a knife or a string of beads, "was felony, and by the laws of England, punished with death; and this must be put in execution, for an example, and likewise to appease the salvage. When straightways one arose, moved as it were with some compassion, and said he could not well gainsay the former sentence, yet he had conceived within the compass of his brain an embryon, that was of special consequence to be delivered and cherished. He said that it would most aptly serve to pacify the salvage's complaint, and save the life of one that might, if need should be, stand them in good stead, being young and strong, fit for resistance against an enemy, which might come unexpected, for any thing they knew. The oration made was liked of every one, and he entreated to proceed to show the means how this may be performed. Says he, 'You all agree that one must die; and one shall die. This young man's clothes we will take off, and put upon one that is old and impotent, a sickly person that cannot escape death; such is the disease on him confirmed, that die he must. Put the young man's clothes on this man, and let the sick person be hanged in the other's stead.' 'Amen,' says one, and so say many more. And this had liked to have proved their final sentence; but that one, with a ravenous voice, begun to croak and bellow for revenge, and put by that conclusive motion, alleging such deceits might be a means hereafter to exasperate the minds of the complaining salvages, and that by his death the salvages should see their zeal to justice; and therefore he should die. This was concluded;" and they "hanged him up hard by."

This story of the unscrupulous Morton furnished Butler with the materials out of which he constructed the following fable in his *Hudibras*, part ii., canto ii., line 409.

"Our brethren of New England use
Choice malefactors to excuse,
And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the churches have less need;
As lately happened. In a town,
There lived a cobbler and but one,
That out of doctrine could cut use,
And mend men's lives as well as shoes.
This precious brother having slain,
In times of peace, an Indian,

corn, and yet they regarded it not; that another of their company was turned salvage; that their people had most forsaken the town; and made their rendezvous where they got their victuals, because they would not take pains to bring it home; that they had sold their clothes for corn, and were ready to starve both with cold and hunger also, because they could not endure

> (Not out of malice, but mere zeal,
> Because he was an infidel),
> The mighty Tottipotymoy
> Sent to our elders an envoy,
> Complaining sorely of the breach
> Of league, held forth, by brother Paten,
> Against the articles in force
> Between both churches, his and ours;
> For which he craved the saints to render
> Into his hands, or hang the offender.
> But they, maturely having weighed,
> They had no more but him of the trade,
> A man that served them in a double
> Capacity, to teach and cobble,
> Resolved to spare him; yet to do
> The Indian Hoghgan Moghgan, too,
> Impartial justice, in his stead did
> Hang an old weaver, that was bed-rid."

It will be observed that Morton mentions this substitution merely as the suggestion of an individual, which was rejected by the company. Even had it been adopted by them, and carried into execution, it would not have implicated the Plymouth people at all, nor cast the least slur on their characters or principles. For Weston's colony was entirely distinct from theirs, and composed of a very different set of men. Morton himself calls "many of them lazy persons, that would use no endeavour to take the benefit of the country." As Belknap says, "They were a set of needy adventurers, intent only on gaining a subsistence." They did not come over from any religious scruples, or with any religious purpose. There is no evidence that they had any church at all; they certainly were not Puritans. Neal says, in his *Hist. of New England*, i. 102, that Weston obtained a patent under pretence of propagating the discipline of the Church of England in America.

Grahame, i. 198, falls into an error in attributing this execution to Gorges's colony, which settled at the same place in the autumn of the same year; and Drake, b. ii., 34, errs in saying that Morton was one of Weston's company. Morton did not come over till March, 1625, in company with Wollaston, and settled with him not at Weymouth, but in Quincy. See Prince, pp. 221, 231. The accurate Hutchinson, i. 6, should not have made a fact out of the careless Hubbard's supposition, which the latter mentions as barely "possible." See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xv. 77.

to get victuals by reason of their nakedness; and that they were dispersed into three companies, scarce having any powder and shot left. What would be the event of these things he said he much feared; and therefore not daring to stay any longer among them, though he knew not the way, yet adventured to come to us; partly to make known their weak and dangerous estate, as he conceived, and partly to desire he might there remain till things were better settled at the other plantation. As this relation was grievous to us, so it gave us good encouragement to proceed in our intendments, for which Captain Standish was now fitted; and the wind coming fair, the next day set forth for the Massachusets.

The Indians at the Massachusets missed this man; and suspecting his coming to us, as we conceive, sent one after him, and gave out there that he would never come to Patuxet, but that some wolves or bears would eat him. But we know, both by our own experience, and the reports of others, that though they find a man sleeping, yet so soon as there is life discerned, they fear and shun him. This Indian missed him but very little; and missing him, passed by the town and went to Manomet; whom we hoped to take at his return, as afterward we did. Now was our fort made fit for service, and some ordnance mounted; and though it may seem long work, it being ten months since it begun, yet we must note, that where so great a work is begun with such small means, a little time cannot bring [it] to perfection. Beside, those works which tend to the preservation of man, the enemy of mankind will hinder, what in him lieth, sometimes blinding the judgment, and causing reasonable men to reason against their own safety; as amongst us divers seeing the work prove tedious, would have dissuaded from proceeding, flattering themselves with peace and security, and accounting it rather a work of superfluity and vainglory, than simple necessity. But God, whose providence hath waked, and, as I may say, watched for us whilst we slept, having determined to preserve us from these

intended treacheries, undoubtedly ordained this as a special means to advantage us and discourage our adversaries, and therefore so stirred up the hearts of the governors and other forward instruments, as the work was just made serviceable against this needful and dangerous time, though we ignorant of the same.

But that I may proceed, the Indian last mentioned, in his return from Manomet, came through the town, pretending still friendship and in love to see us; but as formerly others, so his end was to see whether we continued still in health and strength, or fell into weakness, like their neighbours; which they hoped and looked for (though God in mercy provided better for us), and he knew would be glad tidings to his countrymen. But here the Governor stayed him; and sending for him to the fort, there gave the guard charge of him as their prisoner; where he told him he must be contented to remain till the return of Captain Standish from the Massachusets. So he was locked in a chain to a staple in the court of guard, and there kept. Thus was our fort hanselled,[1] this being the first day, as I take it, that ever any watch was there kept.

The Captain, being now come to the Massachusets, went first to the ship; but found neither man, or so much as a dog therein. Upon the discharge of a musket, the master and some others of the plantation showed themselves, who were on the shore gathering ground-nuts, and getting other food. After salutation, Captain Standish asked them how they durst so leave the ship, and live in such security; who answered, like men senseless of their own misery, they feared not the Indians, but lived and suffered them to lodge with them, not having sword or gun, or needing the same. To which the Captain answered, if there were no cause, he was the gladder. But, upon further inquiry, understanding that those in whom John Sanders had reposed most special confidence, and left in his stead to govern the rest, were at the plantation, thither he went; and, to be brief, made known the Indians' purpose, and the

[1] Hansel, to use for the first time.

end of his own coming, as also (which formerly I omitted), that if afterward they durst not there stay, it was the intendment of the governors and people of Plymouth there to receive them, till they could be better provided; but if they conceived of any other course, that might be more likely for their good, that himself should further them therein to the uttermost of his power. These men, comparing other circumstances with that they now heard, answered, they could expect no better; and it was God's mercy that they were not killed before his coming; desiring therefore that he would neglect no opportunity to proceed. Hereupon he advised them to secrecy, yet withal to send special command to one third of their company, that were farthest off, to come home, and there enjoin them on pain of death to keep the town, himself allowing them a pint of Indian corn to a man for a day, though that store he had was spared out of our seed. The weather proving very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could do any thing.

In the mean time an Indian came to him, and brought some furs, but rather to gather what he could from the Captain, than coming then for trade; and though the Captain carried things as smoothly as possibly he could, yet at his return he reported he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart; and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Pecksuot, who was a pniese,[1] being a man of a notable spirit, to come to Hobbamock, who was then with them, and told him, he understood that the Captain was come to kill himself and the rest of the salvages there. "Tell him," said he, "we know it, but fear him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare, he shall not take us at unawares." Many times after, divers of them severally, or few together, came to the plantation to him; where they would whet and sharpen the points of their knives before his face, and use many other insulting gestures and speeches. Amongst the rest

1 See p. 345.

Wituwamat bragged of the excellency of his knife. On the end of the handle there was pictured a woman's face; "but," said he, "I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it; and by and by these two must marry." Further he said of that knife he there had, *Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts;* that is to say, By and by it should see, and by and by it should eat, but not speak. Also Pecksuot, being a man of greater stature than the Captain,[1] told him, though he were a great captain, yet he was but a little man; and, said he, though I be no sachim, yet I am a man of great strength and courage. These things the Captain observed, yet bare with patience for the present.

On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, and this Pecksuot and Wituwamat both together, with another man, and a youth of some eighteen years of age, which was brother to Wituwamat, and, villain-like, trod in his steps, daily putting many tricks upon the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his own company in a room with them, gave the word to his men, and the door being fast shut, began himself with Pecksuot, and snatching his own knife from his neck, though with much struggling, killed him therewith, the point whereof he had made as sharp as a needle, and ground the back also to an edge. Wituwamat and the other man the rest killed, and took the youth, whom the Captain caused to be hanged. But it is incredible how many wounds these two pnieses received before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobbamock stood by all this time as a spectator, and meddled not, observing how our men demeaned themselves in this action. All being here ended, smiling, he brake forth into these speeches to the Captain: "Yesterday Pecksuot, bragging of his own strength and stature, said, though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but to-

[1] Standish is said to have been a man of short stature. See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xv. 111, and xviii. 121.

day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground." But to proceed; there being some women at the same time, Captain Standish left them in the custody of Mr. Weston's people at the town, and sent word to another company, that had intelligence of things, to kill those Indian men that were amongst them. These killed two more. Himself also with some of his own men went to another place, where they killed another; and through the negligence of one man, an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings.[1]

Not long before this execution, three of Mr. Weston's men, which more regarded their bellies than any command or commander, having formerly fared well with the Indians for making them canoes, went again to the sachim to offer their service, and had entertainment. The first night they came thither, within night, late came a messenger with all speed, and delivered a

1 When the news of the first Indians being killed by Standish at Weymouth reached Mr. Robinson, their pastor, at Leyden, he wrote to the church at Plymouth, December 19. 1623, "To consider the disposition of their Captain, who was of a warm temper. He hoped the Lord had sent him among them for good, if they used him right; but he doubted where there was not wanting that tenderness of the life of man, made after God's image, which was meet;" and he concludes with saying, "O how happy a thing had it been that you had converted some before you killed any!" Prince adds, "It is to be hoped that Squanto was converted." It seems Standish was not of their church at first, and Hubbard says he had more of his education in the school of Mars than in the school of Christ. Judge Davis remarks, "These sentiments are honourable to Mr. Robinson; they indicate a generous philanthropy, which must always gain our affection, and should ever be cherished. Still, the transactions to which the strictures relate, are defensible. As to Standish, Belknap places his defence on the rules of duty imposed by his character, as the military servant of the Colony. The government, it is presumed, will be considered as acting under severe necessity, and will require no apology if the reality of the conspiracy be admitted, of which there can be little doubt. It is certain that they were fully persuaded of its existence, and with the terrible example of the Virginia massacre in fresh remembrance, they had solemn duties to discharge. The existence of the whole settlement was at hazard." See Prince, p. 226; Hutchinson's *Mass.*, ii. 461; Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 330; Morton's *Memorial*, p. 91.

sad and short message. Whereupon all the men gathered together, put on their boots and breeches, trussed up themselves, and took their bows and arrows and went forth, telling them they went a hunting, and at their return they should have venison enough. Being now gone, one being more ancient and wise than the rest, calling former things to mind, especially the Captain's presence, and the strait charge that on pain of death none should go a musket shot from the plantation, and comparing this sudden departure of theirs therewith, began to dislike and wish himself at home again, which was further off than divers other dwelt. Hereupon he moved his fellows to return, but could not persuade them. So there being none but women left, and the other that was turned salvage, about midnight came away, forsaking the paths, lest he should be pursued; and by this means saved his life.

Captain Standish took the one half of his men, and one or two of Mr. Weston's, and Hobbamock, still seeking to make spoil of them and theirs. At length they espied a file of Indians, which made towards them amain; and there being a small advantage in the ground, by reason of a hill near them, both companies strove for it. Captain Standish got it; whereupon they retreated, and took each man his tree, letting fly their arrows amain, especially at himself and Hobbamock. Whereupon Hobbamock cast off his coat, and being a known pniese (theirs being now killed), chased them so fast, as our people were not able to hold way with him; insomuch as our men could have but one certain mark, and then but the arm and half face of a notable villain, as he drew [1] at Captain Standish; who together with another both discharged at once at him, and brake his arm; whereupon they fled into a swamp. When they were in the thicket, they parleyed, but to small purpose, getting nothing but foul language. So our Captain dared the sachim to come out and fight like a man, showing how base and woman-like he was in tonguing it as he did; but he refused, and fled.

[1] His bow.

So the Captain returned to the plantation; where he released the women, and would not take their beaver coats from them, nor suffer the least discourtesy to be offered them.

Now were Mr. Weston's people resolved to leave their plantation, and go for Munhiggen, hoping to get passage and return [1] with the fishing ships. The Captain told them, that for his own part he durst there live with fewer men than they were; yet since they were otherways minded, according to his order from the governors and people of Plymouth, he would help them with corn competent for their provision by the way; which he did, scarce leaving himself more than brought them home. Some of them disliked the choice of the body to go to Munhiggen, and therefore desiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the shallop; and seeing them set sail, and clear of the Massachuset bay,[2] he took leave and returned to Ply-

1 To England.

2 "Thus this plantation is broken up in a year; and this is the end of those who being all able men, had boasted of their strength and what they would bring to pass, in comparison of the people at Plymouth, who had many women, children, and weak ones with them; and said at their first arrival, when they saw the wants at Plymouth, that they would take another course, and not fall into such a condition as this simple people were come to."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 214, and in Morton, p. 92.

"Shortly after Mr. Weston's people went to the eastward, he comes there himself with some of the fishermen, under another name and disguise of a blacksmith; where he hears the ruin of his plantation; and getting a shallop with a man or two comes on to see how things are; but in a storm is cast away in the bottom of the bay between Pascataquak and Merrimak river, and hardly escapes with his life. Afterwards he falls into the hands of the Indians, who pillage him of all he saved from the sea, and strip him of all his clothes to his shirt. At length he gets to Pascataquak, borrows a suit of clothes, finds means to come to Plymouth, and desires to borrow some beaver of us. Notwithstanding our straits, yet in consideration of his necessity, we let him have one hundred and seventy odd pounds of beaver, with which he goes to the eastward, stays his small ship and some of his men, buys provisions and fits himself, which is the foundation of his future courses; and yet never repaid us any thing save reproaches, and becomes our enemy on all occasions."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 216.

mouth; whither he came in safety, blessed be God! and brought the head of Wituwamat with him.

Among the rest, there was an Indian youth, that was ever of a courteous and loving disposition towards us. He, notwithstanding the death of his countrymen, came to the Captain without fear, saying, his good conscience and love towards us imboldened him so to do. This youth confessed, that the Indians intended to kill Mr. Weston's people, and not to delay any longer than till they had two more canoes or boats, which Mr. Weston's men would have finished by this time, having made them three already, had not the Captain prevented them; and the end of stay for those boats was to take their ship therewith.

Now was the Captain returned and received with joy, the head being brought to the fort, and there set up.[1] The governors and captains with divers others went up the same further, to examine the prisoner, who looked piteously on the head. Being asked whether he knew it, he answered, Yea. Then he confessed the plot, and that all the people provoked Obtakiest, their sachim, thereunto, being drawn to it by their importunity. Five there were, he said, that prosecuted it with more eagerness than the rest. The two principal were killed, being Pecksuot and Wituwamat, whose head was there; the other three were powahs, being yet living, and known unto us, though one of them was wounded, as aforesaid. For himself, he would not acknowledge that he had any hand therein, begging earnestly for his life, saying he was not a Massachuset man, but as a stranger lived with them. Hobbamock also gave a good report of him, and besought for him; but was bribed so to do. Nevertheless, that we might

1 "This may excite in some minds an objection to the humanity of our forefathers. The reason assigned for it was that it might prove a terror to others. In matters of war and public justice, they observed the customs and laws of the English nation. As late as the year 1747, the heads of the lords who were concerned in the Scots rebellion were set up over Temple Bar, the most frequented passage between London and Westminster."—Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 326.

show mercy as well as extremity, the Governor released him, and the rather, because we desired he might carry a message to Obtakiest, his master. No sooner were the irons from his legs, but he would have been gone; but the Governor bid him stay, and fear not, for he should receive no hurt; and by Hobbamock commanded him to deliver this message to his master: That for our parts it never entered into our hearts to take such a course with them, till their own treachery enforced us thereunto, and therefore they might thank themselves for their own overthrow; yet since he had begun, if again by any the like courses he did provoke him, his country should not hold him; for he would never suffer him or his to rest in peace, till he had utterly consumed them; and therefore should take this as a warning; further, that he should send to Patuxet the three Englishmen he had, and not kill them; also that he should not spoil the pale and houses at Wichaguscusset; and that this messenger should either bring the English, or an answer, or both; promising his safe return.

This message was delivered, and the party would have returned with [an] answer, but was at first dissuaded by them, whom afterwards they would, but could not persuade to come to us. At length, though long, a woman came and told us, that Obtakiest was sorry that the English were killed, before he heard from the Governor; otherwise he would have sent them. Also she said, he would fain make his peace again with us, but none of his men durst come to treat about it, having forsaken his dwelling, and daily removed from place to place, expecting when we would take further vengeance on him.

Concerning those other people, that intended to join with the Massacheuseuks against us, though we never went against any of them; yet this sudden and unexpected execution, together with the just judgment of God upon their guilty consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living

in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselves, whereof very many are dead; as Canacum, the sachim of Manomet, Aspinet, the sachim of Nauset, and Ianough, sachim of Mattachiest. This sachim in his life, in the midst of these distractions, said the God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger; and certainly it is strange to hear how many of late have, and still daily die amongst them. Neither is there any likelihood it will easily cease; because through fear they set little or no corn, which is the staff of life, and without which they cannot long preserve health and strength. From one of these places a boat was sent with presents to the Governor, hoping thereby to work their peace; but the boat was cast away, and three of the persons drowned, not far from our Plantation. Only one escaped, who durst not come to us, but returned; so as none of them dare come amongst us.

I fear I have been too tedious both in this and other things. Yet when I consider how necessary a thing it is that the truth and grounds of this action especially should be made known, and the several dispositions of that dissolved colony, whose reports undoubtedly will be as various, I could not but enlarge myself where I thought to be most brief. Neither durst I be too brief, lest I should eclipse and rob God of that honour, glory, and praise, which belongeth to him for preserving us from falling when we were at the pit's brim, and yet feared nor knew not that we were in danger.

OF THE FIRST ALLOTMENT OF LANDS, AND THE DISTRESSED STATE OF THE COLONY.

THE month of April being now come, on all hands we began to prepare for corn. And because there was no corn left before this time, save that was preserved for seed, being also hopeless of relief by supply, we

thought best to leave off all other works, and prosecute that as most necessary. And because there was no[1] small hope of doing good, in that common course of labour that formerly we were in; for that the governors, that followed men to their labours, had nothing to give men for their necessities, and therefore could not so well exercise that command over them therein, as formerly they had done; especially considering that self-love wherewith every man, in a measure more or less, loveth and preferreth his own good before his neighbour's, and also the base disposition of some drones, that, as at other times, so now especially would be most burdenous to the rest; it was therefore thought best that every man should use the best diligence he could for his own preservation, both in respect of the time present, and to prepare his own corn for the year following; and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, etc., which could not be freed from their calling without greater inconveniences. This course was to continue till harvest, and then the governors to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themselves and such others as necessity constrained to exempt from this condition. Only if occasion served, upon any special service they might employ such as they thought most fit to execute the same, during this appointed time, and at the end thereof all men to be employed by them in such service as they thought most necessary for the general good. And because there is great difference in the ground, that therefore a set quantity should be set down for a person, and each man to have his fall by lot,[2] as being most just and equal, and against which no man could except.

1 The word *no* appears to be an error of the press.—F.

2 This allotment was only for one year. In the spring of the next year, 1624, "the people requesting the Governor to have some land for continuance, and not by yearly lot, as before, he gives every person an acre of land."—Bradford, in Prince, pp. 215 and 226. See this latter allotment in Hazard, i. 100, and in Morton, p. 376.

At a general meeting of the company, many courses were propounded, but this approved and followed, as being the most likely for the present and future good of the company; and therefore before this month began to prepare our ground against seed-time.

In the midst of April we began to set, the weather being then seasonable, which much encouraged us, giving us good hopes of after plenty. The setting season is good till the latter end of May. But it pleased God, for our further chastisement, to send a great drought; insomuch as in six weeks after the latter setting there scarce fell any rain; so that the stalk of that was first set began to send forth the ear, before it came to half growth, and that which was later not like to yield any at all, both blade and stalk hanging the head, and changing the colour in such manner, as we judged it utterly dead. Our beans also ran not up according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had been scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrown, and we discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning.[1]

To add also to this sorrowful estate in which we were, we heard of a supply that was sent unto us many months since, which having two repulses before, was a third time in company of another ship three hundred leagues at sea, and now in three months time heard no

1 "But by the time our corn is planted, our victuals are spent, not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together, yet bear our wants with cheerfulness and rest on Providence. Having but one boat left, we divide the men into several companies, six or seven in each; who take their turns to go out with a net and fish, and return not till they get some, though they be five or six days out; knowing there is nothing at home, and to return empty would be a great discouragement. When they stay long or get but little, the rest go a digging shell-fish; and thus we live the summer; only sending one or two to range the woods for deer, they now and then get one, which we divide among the company; and in the winter are helped with fowl and ground-nuts."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 216.

further of her; only the signs of a wreck were seen on the coast, which could not be judged to be any other than the same.[1] So that at once God seemed to deprive us of all future hopes. The most courageous were now discouraged, because God, which hitherto had been our only shield and supporter, now seemed in his anger to arm himself against us. And who can withstand the fierceness of his wrath?

These and the like considerations moved not only every good man privately to enter into examination with his own estate between God and his conscience, and so to humiliation before him, but also more solemnly to humble ourselves together before the Lord by fasting and prayer. To that end a day was appointed by public authority, and set apart from all other employments; hoping that the same God, which had stirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy

1 "At length we receive letters from the adventurers in England of December 22 and April 9 last, wherein they say, 'It rejoiceth us much to hear those good reports that divers have brought home of you;' and give an account, that last fall, a ship, the *Paragon*, sailed from London with passengers, for New Plymouth; being fitted out by Mr. John Pierce, in whose name our first patent was taken, his name being only used in trust; but when he saw we were here hopefully seated, and by the success God gave us, had obtained favour with the Council for New England, he gets another patent of a larger extent, meaning to keep it to himself, allow us only what he pleased, hold us as his tenants and sue to his courts as chief lord. But meeting with tempestuous storms in the Downs, the ship is so bruised and leaky that in fourteen days she returned to London, was forced to put into the dock, £100 laid out to mend her, and lay six or seven weeks to December 22, before she sailed a second time; but being half way over, met with extreme tempestuous weather about the middle of February which held fourteen days, beat off the round house with all her upper works, obliged them to cut her mast and return to Portsmouth, having 109 souls aboard, with Mr. Pierce himself. Upon which great and repeated loss and disappointment, he is prevailed upon for £500 to resign his patent to the Company, which cost him but £50; and the goods with charge of passengers in this ship cost the Company £640, for which they were forced to hire another ship, namely, the *Anne*, of 140 tons, to transport them, namely, 60 passengers with 60 tons of goods, hoping to sail by the end of April."—Bradford, in Prince, pp. 217, 218.

to look down upon us, and grant the request of our dejected souls, if our continuance there might any way stand with his glory and our good. But Oh, the mercy of our God! who was as ready to hear, as we to ask; for though in the morning, when we assembled together, the heavens were as clear, and the drought as like to continue as ever it was, yet (our exercise continuing some eight or nine hours) before our departure, the weather was overcast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rain, continuing some fourteen days, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say whether our withered corn or drooping affections were most quickened or revived; such was the bounty and goodness of our God. Of this the Indians, by means of Hobbamock,[1] took notice; who being then in the town, and this exercise in the midst of the week, said, It was but three days since Sunday; and therefore demanded of a boy, what was the reason thereof. Which when he knew, and saw what effects followed thereupon, he and all of them admired the goodness of our God towards us, that wrought so great a change in so short a time; showing the difference between their conjuration, and our invocation on the name of God for rain; theirs being mixed with such storms and tempests, as sometimes, instead of doing them good, it layeth the corn flat on the ground, to their prejudice; but ours in so gentle and seasonable a manner, as they never observed the like.

1 This is the last time that Hobbamock's name occurs in the history of the Colony. His services to the infant settlement had been very important, and in the allotment of the land in 1624, mention is made of "Hobbamock's ground." In *New England's First Fruits*, published in London in 1643, he is described as follows: "As he increased in knowledge, so in affection, and also in his practice, reforming and conforming himself accordingly; and though he was much tempted by enticements, scoffs, and scorns from the Indians, yet could he never be gotten from the English, nor from seeking after their God, but died amongst them, leaving some good hopes in their hearts that his soul went to rest."

At the same time Captain Standish, being formerly employed by the Governor to buy provisions for the refreshing of the Colony, returned with the same, accompanied with one Mr. David Tomson,[1] a Scotchman, who also that spring began a plantation twenty-five leagues northeast from us, near Smith's isles,[2] at a place called Pascatoquack, where he liketh well. Now also heard we of the third repulse that our supply had,[3] of their safe, though dangerous, return into England, and of their preparation to come to us. So that having these many signs of God's favour and acceptation, we thought it would be great ingratitude, if secretly we should smother up the same, or content ourselves with private thanksgiving for that, which by private prayer could not be obtained. And therefore another solemn day was set apart and appointed for that end; wherein we returned glory, honour, and praise, with all thankfulness, to our good God, which dealt so graciously with us; whose name for these and all other his mercies towards his church, and chosen

1 David Thomson was sent over by Gorges and Mason in the spring of 1623, and commenced a settlement at a place called Little Harbour, on the west side of Piscataqua river, near its mouth. Christopher Levett says he stayed a month at Thomson's plantation in 1623. Afterwards, in 1626, or later, out of dislike of the place or his employers, Thomson removed to Boston harbour, and took possession of "a fruitful island and very desirable neck of land," which were afterwards confirmed to him or his heirs by the government of Massachusetts. This neck of land was Squantum, in Quincy, and the island which is very near it, has ever since been called by his name. It is now the seat of the Farm School. Compare Savage's *Winthrop*, i. 44, with Hubbard, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xv. 105; and see Adams's *Annals of Portsmouth*, p. 10, and Levett's voyage into New England, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxviii. 164.

2 So called after himself, by Captain John Smith, who discovered them in 1614. He thus describes them: "Smyth's Isles are a heap together, none near them, against Accominticus." They are eight in number, and are now called the Isles of Shoals. See a description and historical account of them in *Mass Hist. Coll.*, vii. 242–262; xxvi. 120.

3 "Governor Bradford gives no hint of this third repulse."—Prince, p. 219.

ones, by them be blessed and praised, now and evermore. Amen.

In the latter end of July, and the beginning of August, came two ships with supply unto us; who brought all their passengers,[1] except one, in health,

[1] The following is an alphabetical list of those who came over in the *Anne* and *Little James*:—

Anthony Annable,
Edward Bangs,
Robert Bartlett,
Fear Brewster,
Patience Brewster,
Mary Bucket,
Edward Burcher,
Thomas Clark,
Christopher Conant,
Cuthbert Cuthbertson,
Anthony Dix,
John Faunce,
Manasseh Faunce,
Goodwife Flavell,
Edmund Flood,
Bridget Fuller,
Timothy Hatherly,
William Heard,
Margaret Hickes, and her children,
William Hilton's wife and two children,
Edward Holman,
John Jenny,
Robert Long,
Experience Mitchell,
George Morton,
Thomas Morton, jr.,
Ellen Newton,
John Oldham,
Frances Palmer,
Christian Penn,
Mr. Perce's two servants,
Joshua Pratt,
James Rand,
Robert Rattliffe,
Nicholas Snow,
Alice Southworth,
Francis Sprague,
Barbara Standish,
Thomas Tilden,
Stephen Tracy,
Ralph Wallen.

This list, as well as that of the passengers in the *Fortune*, is obtained from the record of the allotment of lands, in 1624, which may be found in Hazard's *State Papers*, i. 101–103, and in the Appendix to *Morton's Memorial*, pp. 377–380. In that list, however, Francis Cooke's and Richard Warren's names are repeated, although they came in the *Mayflower;* probably because their wives and children came in the *Anne*, and therefore an additional grant of land was made to them. Many others brought their families in this ship; and Bradford says that "some were the wives and children of such who came before."

Fear and Patience Brewster were daughters of Elder Brewster. John Faunce married Patience, daughter of George Morton, and was father of the venerable Elder Faunce. Thomas Clark's gravestone is one of the oldest on the Burial hill in Plymouth. Francis Cooke's wife, Hester, was a Walloon, and Cuthbert Cuthbertson was a Dutchman, as we learn from Winslow's *Brie Narration*. Anthony Dix is mentioned in Winthrop, i. 287. Goodwife Flavell was probably the wife of Thomas, who came in the *Fortune*, and Bridget Fuller was the wife of Samuel, the

who recovered in short time; who, also notwithstanding all our wants and hardship, blessed be God! found not any one sick person amongst us at the Plantation. The bigger ship, called the *Anne*,[1] was hired, and there again freighted back;[2] from whence we set sail the 10th of September. The lesser, called the *Little James*,[3] was built for the company at their charge.[4]

physician. Timothy Hatherly went to England the next winter, and did not return till 1632; he settled in Scituate. Margaret Hicks was the wife of Robert, who came in the *Fortune*. William Hilton had sent for his wife and children. George Morton brought his son, Nathaniel, the secretary, and four other children. Thomas Morton, jr., was probably the son of Thomas, who came in the *Fortune*. John Oldham afterwards became notorious in the history of the Colony. Frances Palmer was the wife of William, who came in the *Fortune*. Phinehas Pratt had a lot of land assigned him among those who came in the *Anne;* but he was undoubtedly one of Weston's colony. Barbara Standish was the Captain's second wife, whom he married after the arrival of the *Anne*. Her maiden name is unknown.

Annable afterwards settled in Scituate, Mitchell in Duxbury and Bridgewater, Bangs and Snow in Eastham, and Sprague in Duxbury. John Jenny was a brewer, and in 1636 had "liberty to erect a mill for grinding and beating of corn upon the brook of Plymouth."

Those who came in the first three ships, the *Mayflower*, the *Fortune*, and the *Anne*, are distinctively called the *old comers*, or the *forefathers*. For further particulars concerning them, see Farmer's *Genealogical Register*, Mitchell's *Bridgewater*, and Deane's *Scituate*.

1 "Of 140 tons, Mr. William Pierce, master."—Bradford, in Prince, pp. 218 and 220.

2 "Being laden with clapboards, and all the beaver and other furs we have; with whom we send Mr. Winslow, to inform how things are and procure what we want."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 221.

3 "A fine new vessel of 44 tons, Mr. Bridges, master."—Bradford, in Prince, p. 220.

4 "They bring about 60 persons, some being very useful and become good members of the body; of whom the principal are Mr. Timothy Hatherly and Mr. George Morton, who came in the *Anne*, and Mr. John Jenny, who came in the *James*. Some were the wives and children of such who came before; and some others are so bad we are forced to be at the charge to send them home next year.

"By this ship R. C. [*i.e.* doubtless Mr. Cushman, their agent] writes, Some few of your old friends are come; they come drop-

She was now also fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod, and almost ready to set sail; whom I pray God to bless in her good and lawful proceedings.

OF THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGIOUS OPINIONS AND CEREMONIES OF THE INDIANS

THUS have I made a true and full narration of the state of our Plantation, and such things as were most remarkable therein since December, 1621. If I have omitted anything, it is either through weakness of memory, or because I judged it not material. I confess my style rude, and unskilfulness in the task I undertook; being urged thereunto by opportunity,

ping to you, and by degrees I hope ere long you shall enjoy them all, etc.

"From the general [that is, the joint concern, the company] subscribed by thirteen, we have also a letter wherein they say, 'Let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others who come after with less difficulty; the honour shall be yours to the world's end. We bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray your safety as their own.

"When these passengers see our poor and low condition ashore, they are much dismayed and full of sadness; only our old friends rejoice to see us, and that it is no worse, and now hope we shall enjoy better days together. The best dish we could present them with, is a lobster, or piece of fish, without bread, or any thing else but a cup of fair spring water; and the long continuance of this diet, with our labours abroad, has somewhat abated the freshness of our complexion; but God gives us health, etc.

"August 14. The fourth marriage is of Governor Bradford to Mrs. Alice Southworth, widow."—Bradford, in Prince, pp. 220, 221. Her maiden name was Carpenter, as appears from the following entry in the records of the Plymouth Church: "1667. Mary Carpenter (sister of Mrs. Alice Bradford, the wife of Governor Bradford), a member of the church at Duxbury, died in Plymouth, March 19–20, being newly entered into the 91st year of her age. She was a godly old maid, never married."

which I knew to be wanting in others, and but for which I would not have undertaken the same. Yet as it is rude, so it is plain, and therefore the easier to be understood; wherein others may see that which we are bound to acknowledge, viz. that if ever any people in these later ages were upheld by the providence of God after a more special manner than others, then we; and therefore are the more bound to celebrate the memory of his goodness with everlasting thankfulness. For in these forenamed straits, such was our state, as in the morning we had often our food to seek for the day, and yet performed the duties of our callings, I mean other daily labours, to provide for after time; and though at some times in some seasons at noon I have seen men stagger by reason of faintness for want of food; yet ere night, by the good providence and blessing of God, we have enjoyed such plenty as though the windows of heaven had been opened unto us. How few, weak, and raw were we at our first beginning, and there settling, and in the midst of barbarous enemies! Yet God wrought our peace for us. How often have we been at the pit's brim, and in danger to be swallowed up, yea, not knowing till afterward that we were in peril! And yet God preserved us; yea, and from how many that we yet know not of, He that knoweth all things can best tell. So that when I seriously consider of things, I cannot but think that God hath a purpose to give that land as an inheritance to our nation, and great pity it were that it should long lie in so desolate a state, considering it agreeth so well with the constitution of our bodies, being both fertile, and so temperate for heat and cold, as in that respect one can scarce distinguish New England from Old.

A few things I thought meet to add hereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians, both touching their religion and sundry other customs amongst them. And first, whereas myself and others, in former letters (which came to the press against my will and knowledge), wrote that the Indians about us are a people

without any religion, or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better; for as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one, whom they call *Kiehtan*,[1] to be the principal and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none. He, they say, created the heavens, earth, sea and all creatures contained therein; also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and we and all mankind came;[2] but how they became so far dispersed, that know they not. At first, they say, there was no sachim or king, but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above in the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends, and have their fill of all things. This his habitation lieth far westward in the heavens, they say; thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door, but he bids them *quatchet*, that is to say, walk abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restless want and penury.[3] Never man saw this Kiehtan; only old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea to charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good; and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together and cry unto him; and so likewise for plenty, victory, etc., sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

[1] The meaning of the word Kiehtan, I think, hath reference to antiquity; for *Chise* is an old man, and *Kiehchise* a man that exceedeth in age.—*Winslow's Note.*

[2] "They relate how they have it from their fathers, that Kautantowwit made one man and woman of a stone, which disliking he broke them in pieces, and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind."—Roger Williams's *Key*, ch. xxi.

[3] "*Kautantowwit*, the great southwest God, to whose house all souls go, and from whom came their corn and beans, as they say. They believe that the souls of men and women go to the southwest: their great and good men and women to Kautantowwit's house, where they have hopes, as the Turks have, of carnal joys; murtherers, thieves and liars, their souls, say they, wander restless abroad."—Williams's *Key*, ch. xxi.

Another power they worship, whom they call *Hobbamock*, and to the northwârd of us, *Hobbamoqui;*[1] this, as far as we can conceive, is the devil. Him they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he persuades them he sends the same for some conceived anger against them; but upon their calling upon him, can and doth help them; but when they are mortal and not curable in nature, then he persuades them Kiehtan is angry, and sends them, whom none can cure; insomuch as in that respect only they somewhat doubt whether he be simply good, and therefore in sickness never call upon him. This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, etc., but most ordinarily a snake. He appears not to all, but the chiefest and most judicious amongst them; though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honour. He appeareth most ordinary and is most conversant with three sorts of people. One, I confess I neither know by name nor office directly; of these they have few, but esteem highly of them, and think that no weapon can kill them; another they call by the name of *powah;* and the third *pniese.*

The office and duty of the powah is to be exercised principally in calling upon the devil, and curing diseases of the sick or wounded. The common people join with him in the exercise of invocation, but do but only assent, or as we term it, say Amen to that he saith; yet sometime break out into a short musical note with him. The powah is eager and free in speech, fierce in countenance, and joineth many antic and laborious gestures with the same, over the party diseased. If the party be wounded, he will also seem to suck the wound; but if they be curable (as they say) he toucheth it not, but *askooke*, that is, the snake, or *wobsacuck*, that is, the eagle, sitteth on his shoulder, and licks the same. This none see but the powah, who tells them

1 Wood, in his *New England's Prospect*, ch. xix., spells this word *Abamacho.*

he doth it himself. If the party be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape he but come into the house, taking it for an undoubted sign of recovery.

And as in former ages Apollo had his temple at Delphos, and Diana at Ephesus, so have I heard them call upon some as if they had their residence in some certain places, or because they appeared in those forms in the same. In the powah's speech, he promiseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beads, knives, and other the best things they have to the fiend, if he will come to help the party diseased; but whether they perform it, I know not. The other practices I have seen, being necessarily called sometimes to be with their sick, and have used the best arguments I could to make them understand against the same. They have told me I should see the devil at those times come to the party; but I assured myself and them of the contrary, which so proved; yea, themselves have confessed they never saw him when any of us were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard travail in child-birth, when the party cannot be delivered by the ordinary means, they send for this powah; though ordinarily their travail is not so extreme as in our parts of the world, they being of a more hardy nature; for on the third day after child-birth, I have seen the mother with the infant, upon a small occasion, in cold weather, in a boat upon the sea.

Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to Kiehtan; saying, in their memory he was much more called upon. The Nanohigganset exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spacious house, wherein only some few (that are, as we may term them, priests) come. Thither, at certain known times, resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads. knives, etc., all which are cast by the priests into a great fire that they make in the

midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering every man bringeth freely; and the more he is known to bring, hath the better esteem of all men. This the other Indians about us approve of as good, and wish their sachims would appoint the like; and because the plague hath not reigned at Nanohigganset as at other places about them, they attribute to this custom there used.

The pnieses are men of great courage and wisdom, and to those also the devil appeareth more familiarly than to others, and as we conceive, maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death by wounds with arrows, knives, hatchets, etc., or at least both themselves and especially the people think themselves to be freed from the same. And though, against their battles, all of them by painting disfigure themselves, yet they are known by their courage and boldness, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men; for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the sachim's council, without whom they will not war, or undertake any weighty business. In war their sachims, for their more safety, go in the midst of them. They are commonly men of the greatest stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardness, and yet are more discreet, courteous and humane in their carriages than any amongst them, scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men. And to the end they may have store of these, they train up the most forward and likeliest boys, from their childhood, in great hardness, and make them abstain from dainty meat, observing divers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age, the devil may appear to them; causing to drink the juice of sentry [1] and other

1 Or centaury—probably the *sabbatia chloroides*, a plant conspicuous for its beauty, which is found in great abundance on the margin of the ponds in Plymouth. It belongs to the natural order of Gentians, one characteristic of which is an intense bitterness, residing both in the stems and roots. The *gentiana crinita*, or

bitter herbs, till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drink again and again, till at length through extraordinary oppressing of nature, it will seem to be all blood; and this the boys will do with eagerness at the first, and so continue till by reason of faintness, they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must go forth into the cold. Also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes, stumps and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the devil, that in time he may appear unto them.

Their sachims cannot be all called kings, but only some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection, and pay homage unto them;[1] neither may they war without their knowledge and approbation; yet to be commanded by the greater, as occasion serveth. Of this sort is Massassowat, our friend, and Conanacus, of Nanohigganset, our supposed enemy. Every sachim taketh care for the widow and fatherless, also for such as are aged and any way maimed, if their friends be dead, or not able to provide for them. A sachim will not take any to wife, but such an one as is equal to him

fringed gentian, also grows in this region. See Bigelow's *Plants of Boston*, pp. 79 and 111.

"The greater centaury is that famous herb wherewith Chiron the *centaur* (as the report goeth) was cured at what time as having entertained Hercules in his cabin, he would needs be handling and tampering with the weapons of his said guest so long until one of the arrows light upon his foot and wounded him dangerously."—Holland's *Pliny*, b. xxv., ch. 6.

1 "Their government is generally monarchical, their chief sagamore or sachem's will being their law; but yet the sachem hath some chief men that he consults with as his special counsellors. Among some of the Indians their government is mixed, partly monarchical and partly aristocratical; their sagamore doing not any weighty matter without the consent of his great men or petty sagamores. Their sachems have not their men in such subjection but that very frequently their men will leave them upon distaste or harsh dealing, and go and live under other sachems that can protect them; so that their princes endeavour to carry it obligingly. and lovingly unto their people, lest they should desert them, and thereby their strength, power and tribute would be diminished."—Gookin in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 154.

in birth; otherwise, they say, their seed would in time become ignoble; and though they have many other wives, yet are they no other than concubines or servants, and yield a kind of obedience to the principal, who ordereth the family and them in it. The like their men observe also, and will adhere to the first during their lives; but put away the other at their pleasure. This government is successive, and not by choice. If the father die before the son or daughter be of age, then the child is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till he be of age; but when that is, I know not.

Every sachim knoweth how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth; and that is his own proper inheritance. Out of that, if any of his men desire land to set their corn, he giveth them as much as they can use, and sets them their bounds. In this circuit whosoever hunteth, if they kill any venison, bring him his fee; which is the fore parts of the same, if it be killed on the land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof. The great sachims or kings know their own bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest. All travellers or strangers for the most part lodge at the sachim's. When they come, they tell them how long they will stay, and to what place they go; during which time they receive entertainment, according to their persons, but want not. Once a year the pnieses use to provoke the people to bestow much corn on the sachim. To that end, they appoint a certain time and place, near the sachim's dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corn, and make a great stack thereof. There the pnieses stand ready to give thanks to the people, on the sachim's behalf; and after acquaint the sachim therewith, who fetcheth the same, and is no less thankful, bestowing many gifts on them.

When any are visited with sickness, their friends resort unto them for their comfort, and continue with them ofttimes till their death or recovery. If they die, they stay a certain time to mourn for them. Night and

morning they perform this duty, many days after the burial, in a most doleful manner, insomuch as though it be ordinary and the note musical, which they take one from another and all together, yet it will draw tears from their eyes, and almost from ours also.[1] But if they recover, then because their sickness was chargeable, they send corn and other gifts unto them, at a certain appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call *commoco*. When they bury the dead, they sow up the corpse in a mat, and so put it in the earth. If the party be a sachim, they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and enclose the grave with a pale. If it be a child, the father will also put his own most special jewels and ornaments in the earth with it; also will cut his hair, and disfigure himself very much, in token of sorrow. If it be the man or woman of the house, they will pull down the mats, and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or near the same, and either remove their dwelling or give over house-keeping.

The men employ themselves wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the bow, except at some times they take some pains in fishing. The women live a most slavish life; they carry all their burdens, set and dress their corn, gather it in, seek out for much of their food, beat and make ready the corn to eat, and have all household care lying upon them.

The younger sort reverence the elder, and do all mean offices, whilst they are together, although they be strangers. Boys and girls may not wear their hair like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

1 "Upon the death of the sick, the father, or husband, and all his neighbours wear black faces, and lay on soot very thick, which I have often seen clotted with their tears. This blacking and lamenting they observe in most doleful manner divers weeks and months, yea a year, if the person be great and public.—When they come to the grave, they lay the dead by the grave's mouth, and then all sit down, and lament, that I have seen tears run down the cheeks of stoutest captains in abundance; and after the dead is laid in the grave, they have then a second lamentation."—Roger Williams's *Key*, ch. xxxii.

A man is not accounted a man till he do some notable act, or show forth such courage and resolution as becometh his place. The men take much tobacco; but for boys so to do, they account it odious.

All their names are significant and variable; for when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

When a maid is taken in marriage, she first cutteth her hair, and after weareth a covering on her head, till her hair be grown out. Their women are diversely disposed; some as modest, as they will scarce talk one with another in the company of men, being very chaste also; yet other some light, lascivious and wanton. If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there be war or opposition between that and any other people, she will run away from him to the contrary party, and there live; where they never come unwelcome, for where are most women, there is greatest plenty.

When a woman hath her monthly terms, she separateth herself from all other company, and liveth certain days in a house alone; after which, she washeth herself, and all that she hath touched or used, and is again received to her husband's bed or family. For adultery, the husband will beat his wife and put her away, if he please. Some common strumpets there are, as well as in other places; but they are such as either never married, or widows, or put away for adultery; for no man will keep such an one to wife.

In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing, the sachim examineth and punisheth the same. In case of thefts, for the first offence, he is disgracefully rebuked; for the second, beaten by the sachim with a cudgel on the naked back; for the third, he is beaten with many strokes, and hath his nose slit upwards, that thereby all men may both know and shun him. If any man kill another, he must likewise die for the same. The sachim not only passes the sentence upon malefactors, but executeth the same with his own hands, if the party be

then present; if not, sendeth his own knife, in case of death, in the hands of others to perform the same.[1] But if the offender be to receive other punishment, he will not receive the same but from the sachim himself; before whom, being naked, he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away, though he beat him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, than is his offence and punishment.

As for their apparel, they wear breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of deer skins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer's skin loose about them, like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather side. In this habit they travel; but when they are at home, or come to their journey's end, presently they pull off their breeches, stockings and shoes, wring out the water, if they be wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet have they another small garment that covereth their secrets. The men wear also, when they go abroad in cold weather, an otter or fox skin on their right arm, but only their bracer on the left. Women, and all of that sex, wear strings about their legs, which the men never do.

The people are very ingenious and observative; they keep account of time by the moon, and winters or summers; they know divers of the stars by name; in particular they know the north star, and call it *maske*,[2] which is to say, *the bear;*[2] also they have many names for the winds. They will guess very well at the wind

[1] "The most usual custom amongst them in executing punishments, is for the sachim either to beat or whip or put to death with his own hand, to which the common sort most quietly submit; though sometimes the sachim sends a secret executioner, one of his chiefest warriors, to fetch off a head by some sudden, unexpected blow of a hatchet, when they have feared mutiny by public execution."—Roger Williams's *Key*, ch. xxii.

[2] "*Mosk* or *paukunawaw*, the Great Bear, or Charles's Wain; which words mosk or paukunawaw signifies a bear; which is so much the more observable, because in most languages that sign or constellation is called the bear."—Roger Williams's *Key*, ch. xii.

and weather beforehand, by observations in the heavens. They report also, that some of them can cause the wind to blow in what part they list—can raise storms and tempests,[1] which they usually do when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the unseasonable weather, they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they perform their greatest exploits, and in such seasons, when they are at enmity with any, they keep more careful watch than at other times.

As for the language, it is very copious, large, and difficult. As yet we cannot attain to any great measure thereof; but can understand them, and explain ourselves to their understanding, by the help of those that daily converse with us. And though there be difference in a hundred miles' distance of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well understand each other.[2] And thus much of their lives and manners.

Instead of records and chronicles, they take this

[1] "Their powows, by their exorcisms, and necromantic charms, bring to pass strange things, if we may believe the Indians; who report of one Passaconaway, a great sagamore upon Merrimack river, and the most celebrated powow in the country, that he can make the water burn, the rocks move, the trees dance, and metamorphize himself into a flaming man. In winter, when there are no green leaves to be got, he will burn an old one to ashes, and putting these into the water, produce a new green leaf, which you shall not only see, but substantially handle and carry away; and make a dead snake's skin a living snake, both to be seen, felt, and heard."—Wood's *New England's Prospect*, part ii., ch. 12; Hutchinson's *Mass.*, i. 474; Morton's *New English Canaan*, book i., ch. 9.

[2] "There is a mixture of this language north and south, from the place of my abode, about 600 miles; yet within the 200 miles aforementioned, their dialects do exceedingly differ; yet not so but, within that compass, a man may converse with thousands of natives all over the country."—Roger Williams's *Key*, Pref.

"The Indians of the parts of New England, especially upon the sea-coasts, use the same sort of speech and language, only with some difference in the expressions, as they differ in several counties in England, yet so as they can well understand one another."—Gookin, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 149.

course. Where any remarkable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway near adjoining, they make a round hole in the ground, about a foot deep, and as much over; which when others passing by behold, they inquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once known, they are careful to acquaint all men, as occasion serveth, therewith; and lest such holes should be filled or grown up by any accident, as men pass by, they will oft renew the same; by which means many things of great antiquity are fresh in memory. So that as a man travelleth, if he can understand his guide, his journey will be the less tedious, by reason of the many historical discourses [which] will be related unto him.

OF THE SITUATION, CLIMATE, SOIL, AND PRODUCTIONS OF NEW ENGLAND.

In all this, it may be said, I have neither praised nor dispraised the country; and since I lived so long therein, my judgment thereof will give no less satisfaction to them that know me, than the relation of our proceedings. To which I answer, that as in one, so of the other, I will speak as sparingly as I can, yet will make known what I conceive thereof.

And first for that continent, on which we are, called New England, although it hath ever been conceived by the English to be a part of the main land adjoining to Virginia, yet by relation of the Indians it should appear to be otherwise; for they affirm confidently that it is an island, and that either the Dutch or French pass through from sea to sea between us and Virginia, and drive a great trade in the same. The name of that inlet of the sea they call Mohegon, which I take to be the same which we call Hudson's river, up which Master Hudson went many leagues, and for want of means (as

I hear) left it undiscovered.[1] For confirmation of this their opinion, is thus much; though Virginia be not above a hundred and fifty leagues from us, yet they never heard of Powhatan, or knew that any English were planted in his country, save only by us and Tisquantum, who went in an English ship thither; and therefore it is the more probable, because the water is not passable for them, who are very adventurous in their boats.

Then for the temperature of the air, in almost three years' experience I can scarce distinguish New England from Old England, in respect of heat and cold, frost, snow, rain, winds, etc. Some object, because our Plantation lieth in the latitude of 42°, it must needs be much hotter. I confess I cannot give the reason of the contrary; only experience teacheth us, that if it do exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgments to discern it. And for the winter, I rather think (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New England than Old; and yet the want of those comforts in the one, which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgment also. But in my best observation, comparing our own condition with the Relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitution of the English, not being oppressed with extremity of heat, nor nipped by biting cold; by which means, blessed be God, we enjoy our health, notwithstanding those difficulties we have undergone, in such a measure as would have been admired if we had lived in England with the like means. The day is two hours longer than here, when it is at the shortest, and as much shorter there, when it is at the longest.

The soil is variable, in some places mould, in some

[1] In September, 1609, Hudson ascended the "great river of the mountains," now called by his name, in a small vessel called the *Half-Moon*, above the city of Hudson, and sent up a boat beyond Albany. Josselyn says, that Hudson "discovered *Mohegan* river, in New England." See Robert Juet's Journal of Hudson's third voyage, in *Purchas*, iii. 593, and in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, i. 139, 140, and 2d series, i. 317–332; Moulton's *Hist. of New York*, 213, 244–249; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxiii. 372; Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, i. 400.

clay, others, a mixed sand, etc. The chiefest grain is the Indian mays, or Guinea wheat. The seed-time beginneth in [the] midst of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corn increaseth in great measure, but is inferior in quantity to the same in Virginia; the reason I conceive is because Virginia is far hotter than it is with us, it requiring great heat to ripen. But whereas it is objected against New England, that corn will not grow there except the ground be manured with fish, I answer, that where men set with fish (as with us) it is more easy so to do than to clear ground, and set without some five or six years, and so begin anew, as in Virginia and elsewhere. Not but that in some places, where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the Indians set four years together without, and have as good corn or better than we have that set with them; though indeed I think if we had cattle to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soil to sow wheat, rye, barley, pease and oats, than to set mays, which our Indians call *ewachim;* for we have had experience that they like and thrive well; and the other will not be procured without good labour and diligence, especially at seed-time, when it must also be watched by night, to keep the wolves from the fish, till it be rotten, which will be in fourteen days. Yet men agreeing together, and taking their turns, it is not much.

Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall here plant, by trade with the Indians for furs, if men take a right course for obtaining the same; for I dare presume, upon that small experience I have had, to affirm that the English, Dutch and French return yearly many thousand pounds profit by trade only from that island on which we are seated.

Tobacco may be there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places; neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equal, because fish is a better and richer commodity, and more necessary, which may be and are there had in as great abund-

ance as in any other part of the world; witness the west-country merchants of England, which return incredible gains yearly from thence. And if they can so do, which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more company to make their voyage than will sail their ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months in fishing; whereas the other fish but four, and have their ship lie dead in the harbour all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to plantations may take freight of passengers or cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come? I confess we have come so far short of the means to raise such returns, as with great difficulty we have preserved our lives; insomuch as when I look back upon our condition, and weak means to preserve the same, I rather admire at God's mercy and providence in our preservation, than that no greater things have been effected by us. But though our beginning have been thus raw, small and difficult, as thou hast seen, yet the same God that hath hitherto led us through the former, I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter. Not that we altogether, or principally, propound profit to be the main end of that we have undertaken, but the glory of God, and the honour of our country, in the enlarging of his Majesty's dominions. Yet wanting outward means to set things in that forwardness we desire, and to further the latter by the former, I thought meet to offer both to consideration, hoping that where religion and profit jump together (which is rare) in so honourable an action, it will encourage every honest man, either in person or purse, to set forward the same, or at leastwise to commend the welfare thereof in his daily prayers to the blessing of the blessed God.

I will not again speak of the abundance of fowl, store of venison, and variety of fish, in their seasons, which might encourage many to go in their persons. Only I advise all such beforehand to consider, that as they hear of countries that abound with the good creatures of God, so means must be used for the taking

of every one in his kind, and therefore not only to content themselves that there is sufficient, but to foresee how they shall be able to obtain the same. Otherwise, as he that walketh London streets, though he be in the midst of plenty, yet if he want means, is not the better, but hath rather his sorrow increased by the sight of that he wanteth, and cannot enjoy it, so also there, if thou want art and other necessaries thereunto belonging, thou mayest see that thou wantest and thy heart desireth, and yet be never the better for the same. Therefore, if thou see thine own insufficiency of thyself, then join to some others, where thou mayest in some measure enjoy the same; otherwise, assure thyself thou art better where thou art. Some there be that thinking altogether of their present wants they enjoy here, and not dreaming of any there, through indiscretion plunge themselves into a deeper sea of misery. As for example, it may be here, rent and firing are so chargeable, as without great difficulty a man cannot accomplish the same; never considering, that as he shall have no rent to pay, so he must build his house before he have it, and peradventure may with more ease pay for his fuel here, than cut and fetch it home, if he have not cattle to draw it there; though there is no scarcity, but rather too great plenty.

I write not these things to dissuade any that shall seriously, upon due examination, set themselves to further the glory of God, and the honour of our country, in so worthy an enterprise, but rather to discourage such as with too great lightness undertake such courses; who peradventure strain themselves and their friends for their passage thither, and are no sooner there, than seeing their foolish imagination made void, are at their wits' end, and would give ten times so much for their return, if they could procure it; and out of such discontented passions and humours, spare not to lay that imputation upon the country, and others, which themselves deserve.

As, for example, I have heard some complain of others for their large reports of New England, and yet

because they must drink water and want many delicates they have enjoyed, could presently return with their mouths full of clamours. And can any be so simple as to conceive that the fountains should stream forth wine or beer, or the woods and rivers be like butchers' shops, or fishmongers' stalls, where they might have things taken to their hands? If thou canst not live without such things, and hast no means to procure the one, and wilt not take pains for the other, nor hast ability to employ others for thee, rest where thou art; for as a proud heart, a dainty tooth, a beggar's purse, and an idle hand, be here intolerable, so that person that hath these qualities there, is much more abominable. If therefore God hath given thee a heart to undertake such courses, upon such grounds as bear thee out in all difficulties, viz. his glory as a principal, and all other outward good things but as accessaries, which peradventure thou shalt enjoy, and it may be not, then thou wilt with true comfort and thankfulness receive the least of his mercies; whereas on the contrary, men deprive themselves of much happiness, being senseless of greater blessings, and through prejudice smother up the love and bounty of God; whose name be ever glorified in us, and by us, now and evermore. Amen.

A POSTSCRIPT

If any man desire a more ample relation of the state of this country, before such time as this present Relation taketh place, I refer them to the printed books; the one published by the President and Council for New England, and the other gathered by the inhabitants of this present Plantation at Plymouth in New England: both which books are to be sold by John Bellamy, at his shop at the Three Golden Lions in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange.[1]

[1] The former of the works here referred to is reprinted in the *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xix. 1–25.

WINSLOW'S BRIEF NARRATION

(*The Appendix to "Hypocrisie Unmasked,"* 1646)

OF THE TRUE GROUNDS OR CAUSE OF THE FIRST PLANTING OF NEW ENGLAND

AND now that I have finished what I conceive necessary concerning Mr. Gorton's scandalous and slanderous books,[1] let me briefly answer some objections that I often meet withal against the country of New England.

The first that I meet with is concerning the rise and foundation of our New England Plantations; it being alleged (though upon a great mistake by a late writer)[2] that division or disagreement in the church of Leyden

[1] Winslow was sent to England in 1646 as the agent of Massachusetts, to defend that colony against the complaints of Gorton; and for that purpose published the work *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, of which this *Brief Narration* constituted an Appendix. Full information about Gorton will be found in Savage's *Winthrop*, ii. 57, 295–299; Hutchinson's *Mass.*, i. 117–124, 549; Morton's *Memorial*, pp. 202–206; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xvii. 48–51; Callender's Historical Discourse, in *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 89–92, and ii. 9–20. See Alexander Young, p. 379.

[2] This was Robert Baylie, minister at Glasgow, who in 1645 published *A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, wherein the tenets of the principal sects, especially of the Independents, are examined.* In this work, page 54, he speaks of "a small company at Leyden, under Master Robinson's ministry, which, partly by divisions among themselves, was well near brought to nought." John Cotton of Boston, who in 1648 wrote his work entitled *The Way of Congregational Churches cleared from the historical aspersions of Mr. Robert Baylie*, says, p. 14, "The church at Leyden was in peace, and free from any division, when they took up thoughts of transporting themselves into America with common consent. Themselves do declare it, that the proposition of removal was set on foot and prosecuted by the elders upon just and weighty grounds."

was the occasion, nay cause, of the first plantation in New England; for, saith the author, or to this effect, when they could no longer agree together, the one part went to New England, and began the Plantation at Plymouth, which he makes the mother, as it were, of the rest of the churches; as if the foundation of our New England plantations had been laid upon division or separation, than which nothing is more untrue.[1] For I persuade myself, never people upon earth lived more lovingly together and parted more sweetly than we, the church at Leyden, did; not rashly, in a distracted humour, but upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of God by fasting and prayer; whose gracious presence we not only found with us, but his blessing upon us, from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of ourselves, to see such effects of our prayers and tears before our pilgrimage here be ended. And therefore briefly take notice of the true cause of it.

'Tis true that that poor persecuted flock of Christ, by the malice and power of the late hierarchy, were driven to Leyden in Holland, there to bear witness in their practice to the *kingly office of Christ Jesus* in his church; and there lived together ten years under the United States, with much peace and liberty. But our reverend pastor, Mr. John Robinson, of late memory, and our grave elder, Mr. William Brewster (now at rest with the Lord), considering, amongst many other inconveniences, how hard the country was where we

[1] Hutchinson, too, in his *Hist. of Mass.*, ii. 451, says, "During eleven or twelve years' residence in Holland, they had contention among themselves, and divided, and became two congregations." This is a misstatement; they had no contention among themselves. Governor Bradford says in his *Dialogue*, "They lived together in love and peace all their days, without any considerable differences, or any disturbance that grew thereby, but such as was easily healed in love; and so they continued until with mutual consent they removed into New England." They left Amsterdam for Leyden in order to avoid being drawn into the controversy that was then springing up between Smith's company and Johnson's church.

lived, how many spent their estate in it and were forced to return for England, how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of England, how like we were to lose our language and our name of English, how little good we did or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the sabbath, how unable there to give such education to our children as we ourselves had received, etc., they, I say, out of their Christian care of the flock of Christ committed to them, conceived, if God would be pleased to discover some place unto us (though in America), and give us so much favour with the King and State of England as to have their protection there, where we might enjoy the like liberty, and where, the Lord favouring our endeavours by his blessing, we might exemplarily show our tender countrymen by our example, no less burdened than ourselves, where they might live and comfortably subsist, and enjoy the like liberties with us, being freed from antichristian bondage, keep their names and nation, and not only be a means to enlarge the dominions of our State, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord have a people amongst the natives whither he should bring us, etc.—hereby, in their great wisdoms, they thought we might more glorify God, do more good to our country, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed by our labours, than ever we could do in Holland, where we were.

Now these their private thoughts, upon mature deliberation, they imparted to the brethren of the congregation, which after much private discussion came to public agitation, till at the length the Lord was solemnly sought in the congregation by fasting and prayer to direct us; who moving our hearts more and more to the work, we sent some of good abilities over into England to see what favour or acceptance such a thing might find with the King. These also found God going along with them, and got Sir Edwin Sands, a religious gentleman then living, to stir in it, who procured Sir Robert Naunton, then principal Secretary of State to King James, of famous memory, to move his Majesty

by a private motion to give way to such a people (who could not so comfortably live under the government of another State) to enjoy their liberty of conscience under his gracious protection in America, where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majesty's dominions and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due means. This his Majesty said was a good and honest motion, and asking what profits might arise in the part we intended (for our eye was upon the most northern parts of Virginia), 'twas answered, Fishing. To which he replied with his ordinary asseveration, "So God have my soul, 'tis an honest trade; 'twas the Apostles' own calling," etc. But afterwards he told Sir Robert Naunton (who took all occasions to further it) that we should confer with the bishops of Canterbury and London,[1] etc. Whereupon we were advised to persist upon his first approbation, and not to entangle ourselves with them; which caused our agents to repair to the Virginia Company, who in their court demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large patent, and one of them lent us £300 gratis for three years, which was repaid.

Our agents returning, we further sought the Lord by a public and solemn Fast, for his gracious guidance. And hereupon we came to this resolution, that it was best for one part of the church to go at first, and the other to stay, viz. the youngest and strongest part to go. Secondly, they that went should freely offer themselves. Thirdly, if the major part went, the pastor to go with them; if not, the elder only. Fourthly, if the Lord should frown upon our proceedings, then those that went to return, and the brethren that remained still there, to assist and be helpful to them; but if God should be pleased to favour them that went, then they also should endeavour to help over such as were poor and ancient and willing to come.

These things being agreed, the major part stayed,

1 Abbot was at this time archbishop of Canterbury, and John King was bishop of London. See Fuller's *Ch. Hist.*, iii. 293, and Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, ii. 294 (ed. Bliss.).

and the pastor with them, for the present; but all intended (except a very few, who had rather we would have stayed) to follow after. The minor part, with Mr. Brewster, their elder, resolved to enter upon this great work (but take notice the difference of number was not great). And when the ship was ready to carry us away, the brethren that stayed having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, and we further engaging ourselves mutually as before, they, I say, that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this they accompanied us to Delph's Haven, where we were to embark, and there feasted us again; and after prayer performed by our pastor, where a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only going aboard (the ship lying to the quay and ready to set sail, the wind being fair), we gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance, and so lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits he carried us through. And if any doubt this relation, the Dutch, as I hear, at Delph's Haven preserve the memory of it to this day, and will inform them.

But falling in with Cape Cod, which is in New England, and standing to the southward for the place we intended, we met with many dangers, and the mariners put back into the harbour of the Cape, which was the 11th of November, 1620; where considering winter was come, the seas dangerous, the season cold, the winds high, and being well furnished for a plantation, we entered upon discovery and settled at Plymouth; where God being pleased to preserve and enable us, we that went were at a thousand pounds charge in sending for

our brethren that were behind, and in providing there for them till they could reap a crop of their own labours.

And so, good reader, I have given thee a true and faithful account, though very brief, of our proceedings, wherein thou seest how a late writer,[1] and those that informed him, have wronged our enterprise. And truly what I have written is far short of what it was, omitting for brevity sake many circumstances; as the large offers the Dutch offered to us, either to have removed into Zealand and there lived with them, or, if we would go on such adventures, to go under them to Hudson's river (where they have since a great plantation, etc.), and how they would freely have transported us, and furnished every family with cattle, etc. Also the English merchants that joined with us in this expedition, whom we since bought out;[2] which is fitter for a history than an answer to such an objection, and I trust will be accomplished in good time. By all which the reader may see there was no breach between us that went and the brethren that stayed, but such love as indeed is seldom found on earth.

And for the many plantations that came over to us upon notice of God's blessing upon us, whereas 'tis falsely said they took Plymouth for their precedent, as fast as they came;[3] 'tis true, I confess, that some of the chief of them advised with us (coming over to be freed from the burthensome ceremonies then imposed in England), how they should do to fall upon a right platform of worship, and desired to that end, since God

[1] Baylie. [2] See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 47.

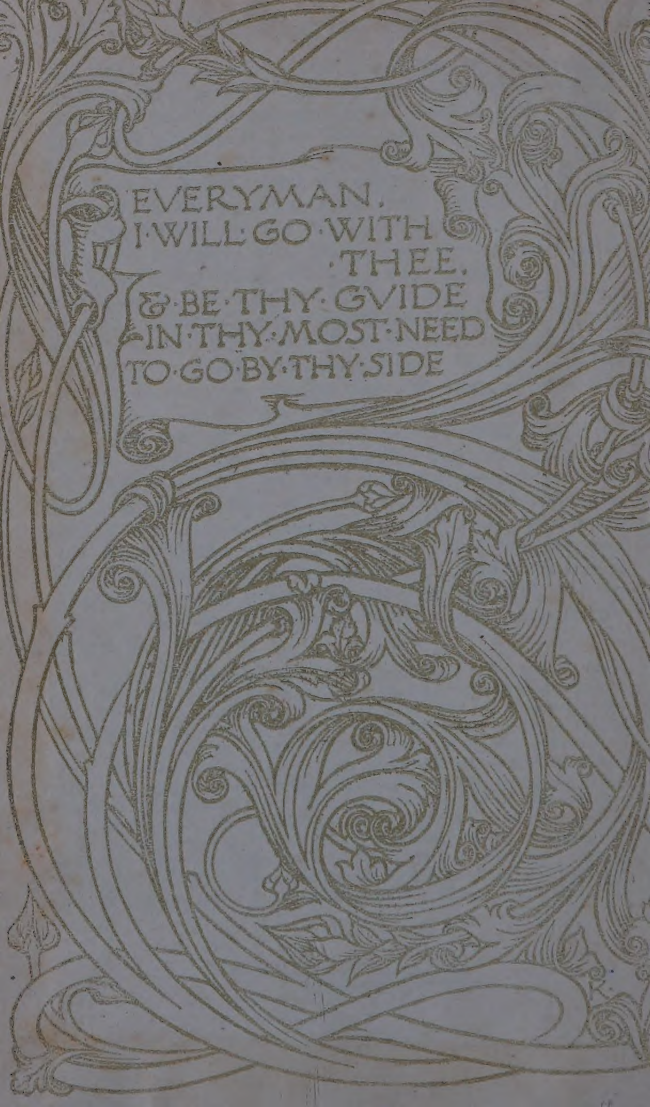
[3] "The Dissuader," says Cotton, "is much mistaken when he saith, 'The congregation of Plymouth did incontinently leaven all the vicinity'; seeing for many years there was no vicinity to be leavened. And Salem itself, that was gathered into church order seven or eight years after them, was above forty miles distant from them. And though it be very likely that some of the first comers might help their theory by hearing and discerning their practice at Plymouth, yet therein the Scripture is fulfilled, The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till all was leavened."—Way, etc., p. 16.

Endicott, writing to Governor Bradford from Salem, May 11,

had honoured us to lay the foundation of a Commonwealth, and to settle a Church in it, to show them whereupon our practice was grounded; and if they found, upon due search, it was built upon the Word, they should be willing to take up what was of God. We accordingly showed them the primitive practice for our warrant, taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles written to the several churches by the said Apostles, together with the commandments of Christ the Lord in the Gospel, and other our warrants for every particular we did from the book of God. Which being by them well weighed and considered, they also entered into covenant with God and one another to walk in all his ways, revealed or as they should be made known unto them, and to worship him according to his will revealed in his written word only, etc. So that here also thou mayest see they set not the church at Plymouth before them for example, but the primitive churches were and are their and our mutual patterns and examples, which are only worthy to be followed, having the blessed Apostles amongst them, who were sent immediately by Christ himself, and enabled and guided by the unerring spirit of God. And truly this is a pattern fit to be followed of all that fear God, and no man or men to be followed further than they follow Christ and them.

1629, says, "I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller (the physician) amongst us, and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship. It is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me, being far differing from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular." Fuller himself, in a letter dated Massachusetts, June 28, 1630, writes, "Here is a gentleman, one Mr. Coddington, a Boston man, who told me that Mr. Cotton's charge to them at Hampton was, that they should take advice of them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them." *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 66, 75.

THE TEMPLE PRESS LETCHWORTH ENGLAND


EVERYMAN.
I WILL GO WITH
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& BE THY GVIDE
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